ADVERTISEMENT.

THE *preſent Impreſſion of this Treatiſe is not deſigned for public Uſe: The Preſs being no otherwiſe employed on this Occaſion, than as* an expeditious Amanuenſis. *The Author therefore humbly hopes, That thoſe Gentlemen who favour him with peruſing theſe Sheets, will pleaſe to conſider the Work as ſtill in Manuſcript, and oblige him with their Corrections and Improvements as ſoon as poſſible. The Margins are made particularly large for that Purpoſe. And it is propoſed, that after a general Reviſal, the Treatiſe ſhall be correctly and neatly printed, and publiſhed with Expedition.*

IT *is moreover to be obſerved, That the Principles laid down in the enſuing Treatiſe, are, for the moſt part,* General *and Univerſal;* viz. *ſuch as would ſuit (with very little Alteration) any Kingdom, State, or Climate whatever; and are therefore called* THE ELEMENTS OF COMMERCE: —— *A Title deſigned by the Author, as his Friends know very well, ſeveral Years before a* French Writer *appeared with the ſame. But if a more particular Application of theſe* general *Principles to certain Branches of foreign or domeſtic Commerce ſhould be judged neceſſary, the Author humbly conceives, that this would beſt be effected by a ſeparate Treatiſe, wherein juſtice might be done to each particular Subject. For as ſuch Diſſertations would be too long to be inſerted in the Body of the preſent Work, and would cauſe too great an Interruption in the Thread of the Diſcourſe, it ſeems moſt expedient, at leaſt for the preſent, to omit them. The Author is the more confirmed in this Opinion, by obſerving to what an unexpected Length ſome of the enſuing Chapters are ſpun out; a Length, for which he is deſirous of making the following Apology to the Reader,* viz. *That as his manner of treating this Subject is entirely* new, *he is obliged to be the more explicit in ſetting it forth. For in a new Syſtem every thing muſt be proved, and ſcarce any thing taken for granted. But if this Syſtem ſhould have the good Fortune to be eſtabliſhed in the Judgment of the Public, ſome future Writer, when old Prejudices are removed, may reduce all that has been ſaid into a very litttle Compaſs.*

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A PRELIMINARY

DISCOURSE,

SETTING FORTH

The natural Diſpoſition, or inſtinctive Inclination of Mankind towards COMMERCE.

THE Powers with which it hath pleaſed the munificent Creator to form Mankind, are ſuited to ſuch important Ends, that a wrong Application of them cannot but be productive of great Infelicity; as a right Uſe of ſuch Endowments is the Source of all the Enjoyments for which human Nature was created. Now theſe Powers are various, according to the different Ends propoſed to be obtained by them; all which Ends center in a joint Happineſs. If, for Example, you conſider a human Creature as *a mere Animal*, you will find, that he has moſt of thoſe Inſtincts which other Animals feel, in order to anſwer the Demands of Animal Life. But when you take a View of him in an higher Character, as a Member of *Civil Society*, and a Subject of *Moral Government*, you will obſerve, That he is not only furniſhed with a Set of *ſocial* Tempers, but alſo that he enjoys the Prerogative of *Reaſon* and *Reflection*, to guide each Inſtinct and Diſpoſition to its proper End. And therefore the general and conſtituent Principles of human Nature may be thus ſummed up: Man hath the Appetites of an *Animal*, — the Temper and Affections of a *ſocial* Being, — and the Underſtanding of a *rational Agent*.

LET us take a View of human Nature under each of theſe Capacities.

I. As *mere Animals*, Mankind are powerfully incited by various Inſtincts to provide for their *animal* Wants; which, in general, are much the ſame with thoſe of other Animals. Only I think it deſerves to be

taken Notice of, That Mankind are more deficient by *Nature* than any other Tribe of Beings. For it is obvious, that they are left by Nature deſtitute of a *proper Covering*, or *Clothing*: And as to *Food* and *Dwelling*, if we conſider Men in their mere Animal State, without the Improvements of *Society*, and the Aſſiſtance of each other, they will be found leſs able to make Proviſion for themſelves than any other Creature. Now theſe are very remarkable Variations in the Ways of Providence, and yet not to be conſider'd as real Imperfections or Omiſſions in regard to Man; but as a moſt admirable and gracious Contrivance of the Author of Nature to anſwer great and good Ends; — which, it is hoped, will be more fully ſhewn in the Sequel. Indeed other Beings, who are only deſigned for the Uſes of *Animal* Life, are not endued with any Qualification but what is neceſſary for this Purpoſe: And therefore all their Sagacity and Knowledge ſhine forth at once. For Inſtance, the firſt Neſt that is built by any of the feathered Tribe is as curious in its Contrivance, and as exquiſite in its Workmanſhip, as the laſt: And the Lion and the Vulture do not much *improve* in the Uſe of their reſpective Weapons. In ſhort, the ſame *original* Plan continues throughout: — Nor do Beaſts, Birds, or Fiſhes diſcover any Diſpoſition to divide the Labour of the Community into different Branches, or aſſign diſtinct Parts to the reſpective Individuals.

THIS, I think, is the Caſe in general with reſpect to the Brute Creation. But if there are any Traces of ſuperior Abilities, they are ſo few and inconſiderable, as not to deſerve a particular Inquiry. Nay, whereſoever any Tribe of Animals diſtribute the Labour of the *Community* into *different* Parts (as is reported to be the Caſe among the Bevers, Ants, and Bees) it hath been always obſerved, that there they make ſome Advances ſuperior to the Condition of mere Animal Life, having a Species of Commerce, and a Form of Government.

BUT if Man had no other Powers but what he receives in common with the *Brutes*, he would not only be *one* of them, but perhaps the loweſt and moſt miſerable of all. For, as was obſerved before, he hath many *Defects* conſidered as a mere Animal, which they have not: Nay, the leaſt bad Circumſtance which muſt attend ſuch a State, would be the *Levelling* and *Degrading* human Nature to ſuch a degree, that the *ſocial* Relations of High and Low, Rich and Poor, Benefactor and Receiver, Governor and Governed, Learned and Illiterate, would be abſolutely unknown.

II. LET us therefore in the next Place conſider Mankind as actuated by a Set of *ſocial* and *benevolent* Affections, Theſe ſocial Inſtincts

are,

are, for the moſt part, the Prerogative of Man: For though other Animals *herd* together, (which may be called *converſing*) yet we cannot obſerve that they are *naturally* inclined to do *good Offices* to each other. They ſhew no Diſpoſition to part with any ſhare of their *Food* or *Dwelling* to relieve the Miſeries of the Hungry and Afflicted, or to ſhelter their Fellow-Creature from the Purſuits of the mercileſs Hunter. And when a *Stranger* is introduced among them, they are ſo far from ſhewing any Signs of *Hoſpitality*, that, till Time has familiarized them, they treat him as a common Enemy.

I WILL allow indeed, that all Animals diſcover, for a Seaſon, the ſtrongeſt Affection for their Offspring: The Males and Females likewiſe give many Proofs of a *temporary* domeſtic Kindneſs for each other. But theſe Regards are diſtinct from what is properly called *ſocial Benevolence*. The Male and Female have a mutual Paſſion implanted in them for the Propagation of their Species; and they are *naturally* diſpoſed to love their Young, the Females eſpecially, during their *helpleſs* State, with a moſt ardent Affection; which Affection vaniſhes away in Proportion as their Young grow up, and become capable of providing for themſelves. Now it is evident, that all this is different from *ſocial* Friendſhip, different from the Love of *virtuous* Characters, and the Delight that is felt in the *Communication* of good Offices to the reſt of the Species, when they either *deſerve*, or ſtand in *need* of them.

MANKIND therefore being thus under the Influence of *ſocial* and *benevolent* Affections, as naturally ſeek Society in order to gratify theſe *ſocial Inſtincts*, as they require Food for appeaſing the Appetite of Hunger. And when human Creatures are once brought together, they find a vaſt number of Advantages in each other by *mutual* Aſſiſtances, to which they muſt have been Strangers in their ſeparate and independent State. Conſequently then it is, that the common Labour of the Society is branched out into ſeparate and diſtinct Parts: Then it is that each Individual chooſes a *particular* Courſe of Life, according as his Circumſtances, or *Genius* ſhall determine his Purſuits. — I mention GENIUS the more emphatically, becauſe ſome Men are formed by *Nature* to peculiar Imployments, being born with *Talents* (which are a kind of *inſtinctive* Knowledge) for one Purſuit preferably to another: A Circumſtance not diſcoverable in any of the Brute Creation. Therefore among the Human Species ſome are imployed in the ſeveral Articles of *Clothing*, others in raiſing of *Proviſions*, and a third Set in preparing Materials and building *Habitations*. Thus are the *firſt* Wants of Mankind, viz. *Food*, *Raiment* and *Dwelling*, much better ſupplied by

by dividing the general Labour into different Branches, than if each Individual depended on himſelf alone for the Supply of them. And theſe different Parts of the common Labour are nothing elſe, in other Words, but diſtinct *Trades* and *Manufactures*; and may therefore be conſidered as the *firſt Draught*, or *Rudiments* of *Commerce*.

BUT if Society is the beſt Means of procuring a Supply for our *animal* or *natural* Wants, it creates a multitude of *artificial* Needs, which may be called *ſocial*, becauſe both their firſt Riſe, and ſubſequent Increaſe, muſt be aſcribed to Society. Now theſe *artificial* Needs are more or leſs extenſive, according to the ſeveral Ranks and Stations in Society, the different Improvements, Cuſtoms, Education, and other Qualities of Mankind. And as our preſent *ſecular* Happineſs appears to ariſe from the Enjoyment of ſuperior Wealth, Power, Honour, Pleaſure, or Preferment, SELF-LOVE, the great Mover of created Beings, determines each Individual to aſpire after theſe *ſocial Goods*, and to uſe the moſt probable Means of obtaining them.

THUS therefore the Paſſion of Self-Love operates with much greater Force, when excited by ſuch a long Train of Objects, than it poſſibly could do, were Men ſtrangers to the artificial Wants, the Refinements and Decorations of ſocial Life. And yet were this Paſſion to proceed without Direction or Controll, it would in a great meaſure defeat its own Ends. For Self-Love is narrow and confined in its Views, and admits of no *Sharers* or *Competitors*, where-ever it *can exclude* them. Therefore when you ſee a Set of Individuals forming *Combinations* and *excluſive Societies*, you may obſerve, that the Members of this excluſive Company are ſtill *Rivals* and *Competitors* among themſelves; and after having excluded the reſt of their Fellow-Subjects, would, in the next Place, exclude each other, *if they could*. And though, in Fact, all ſuch *mutual* Excluſions muſt end in *mutual* Poverty, ſo that even *Self-Intereſt* is a *Loſer* in the End by theſe pernicious Schemes, yet the Maſs of Mankind ever did, and ever will proceed in this Way, *as far as they have Power:* They will always regard the preſent Moment, and be blind in reſpect to diſtant Conſequences. Hence it is, that *Monopolies* are formed, and *Charters* granted, under the ridiculous and abſurd Pretence of the Public Good, when, in Fact, private Advantage is the only Point aimed at. Hence it is, that unjuſt Combinations are ſanctified by poſitive Laws, and thoſe very Excluſions are ſtiled RIGHTS and LIBERTIES, by which other Men have their *Rights* taken from them, and are *denied* the Liberty of being uſeful to themſelves, and ſerviceable to their Country.

INDEED

INDEED I grant, that the ſocial Inſtinct of *Benevolence* is ſome Check upon this ſelfiſh *monopolizing* Principle; but it is ſo very feeble, that it would be quite ineffectual to prevent the Miſchiefs ariſing from inordinate Self-Love, were there no ſtronger Curb to rein it in: For the Love of Self is implanted in Mankind much more ſtrongly than the Love of Benevolence; according to the Engliſh Proverb, *Self knows no Fellow.*

III. THEREFORE REASON and REFLECTION muſt be called in to the Aid of the *ſocial* and *benevolent* Principle. But what is the *Office* of Reaſon? — Not ſurely to *extinguiſh* Self-Love; that is impoſſible: And it might be queſtioned whether it would be right to attempt even to *diminiſh* it: For all Arts and Sciences, and the very Being of Government and Commerce, depend upon the *right Exertion* of this vigorous and active Principle. And were it once reſtrained, or greatly weakned, human Nature would make but feeble Efforts towards any thing great or good. Nay, in ſuch a Caſe, the ſocial Temper itſelf would want a Spur; and all the benevolent Affections being deſtitute of their proper Incitement, would be very faint and languid in their Operations. Conſequently, the main Point to be aimed at, is neither to extinguiſh nor enfeeble Self-Love, but to give it ſuch a Direction, that it may promote the public Intereſt by purſuing its own: And then the very Spirit of Monopoly will operate for the Good of the Whole.

AND if this is the proper Buſineſs of *Reaſon*, conſider'd in the Abſtract; the Reaſon or *public Wiſdom* of a *State*, or *Community* is particularly called upon to purſue ſuch a Plan. Indeed it can execute no other conſiſtently with its own Intereſts, and the Good of thoſe who are under its Protection. Divert therefore the Purſuits of Self-Love from vicious or improper Objects, to thoſe that are commendable and virtuous; Grant no Privileges to Indolence and Ignorance; Give no Aſſiſtance to the ingroſſing Schemes of Monopoliſts; but raiſe a general Emulation among all Ranks and Profeſſions in Things relating to the public Good; And let ſuperior Induſtry and Skill, Integrity and Virtue, receive all your Incouragement, becauſe they alone deſerve it: — Then ſuch a Government muſt have good Subjects, becauſe it has removed the Temptation to be bad ones; The Country will be bleſſed with Plenty, and abound in Commerce, by means of the Induſtry of its Inhabitants in their reſpective Callings; And the Subjects of ſuch a State muſt feel the good Effects of its Influence, and be happy in each other, becauſe their ſeveral Purſuits, Intereſts and Happineſs do all coincide.

Now

Now this politic Direction of the Purſuits of various Individuals to one common End, the Study of Philoſophers, and the Aim of every wiſe Legiſlature, will be found to be nothing more than a ſtrict and ſcrupulous Obſervance of Chriſtian Morality. For this *truly* ſocial Syſtem furniſhes us with the ſtrongeſt Motives towards reſtraining inordinate Self-Love, having ſo linked our Duty and Intereſt with that of the Community, and preſcribed ſuch Regulations for our Conduct and Behaviour, that a Man cannot act the Part of a *good Chriſtian*, without being good and uſeful, and a public Bleſſing in every other Relation of Life.

THUS far as to the Uſes of Reaſon in framing or directing any Syſtems of *National* Commerce: And the Reflection I would draw from the Whole is this, — That when the *auxiliary* Motives of *Reaſon* are called in to the Aid of *ſocial* Love, or diffuſive Benevolence, this latter becomes, in a good degree, a *Counter-Agent* to inordinate Self-Love. So that the *Circulation* of *Commerce* may be conceived to proceed from the *Impulſe* of two diſtinct Principles of Action in Society, analogous to the *centrifugal* and *centripetal* Powers in the Planetary Syſtem. But unerring Wiſdom being the Guide and Director of theſe Powers in the heavenly Bodies, cauſes that *Conſtancy* and *Regularity* in their Motions, which is never obſervable in the Affairs of Commerce. And why is that? — It is becauſe the Circulation of Commerce being only directed by the Reaſon or Wiſdom of Man, is therefore ſubject to all thoſe Impediments, Obſtructions and Irregularities, which reſult from the Vices and Extravagancies, the partial Intereſts, the falſe Conceptions, and miſtaken Policy of Mankind.

HOWEVER, from this general View of the Subject, the Evil doth not appear wholly without a Remedy; at leaſt, if it will not admit of an *abſolute* Cure, it may be ſo greatly *palliated*, as to render the preſent Scene of Things very deſirable; which is as much as can be expected during an imperfect State. Let us therefore enter upon the enſuing Work with the following Maxim ſtrongly upon our Minds, *viz.* That univerſal Commerce, good Government, and true Religion, are nearly, are inſeparably connected. For the Directions and Regulations of each of theſe, are no other, than to make private coincide with public, preſent with future Happineſs. And whoever is converſant with the Affairs of the World, cannot fail to obſerve, That whenever the Parts of this *extenſive Syſtem* have been ſeparated by the Arts or Folly of Men, Religion has ſunk into Superſtition or Enthuſiaſm, Government has been turned into Tyranny and *Machiavelian* Policy, and Commerce has degenerated into Knavery and Monopoly.

THE

THE

Elements of COMMERCE,

AND

Theory of TAXES.

INTRODUCTION.

AS the natural Diſpoſition of Mankind to *Commerce* hath been ſet forth at large in the *Preliminary Diſcourſe*, and as *Self-Love* is known to be the great Mover in human Nature, it may not be improper to begin with the following Obſervation; *viz.* That every Legiſlature ſhould conſider theſe two Principles as the Foundation of their future Proceedings, or as Materials in the Stores of Nature for them to work upon. They cannot *create* new Powers or Faculties in human Nature; but they can cultivate and improve thoſe that are already ſubſiſting: They can, by a proper Application of their Influence and Authority, prune away Luxuriancies, and check the Progreſs of *unbearing* Branches, at the ſame Time that they promote and encourage the Growth of every Thing good and uſeful in Society. Now when the legiſlative Powers act upon this Plan, they will conſider, That a laſting and extenſive *National Commerce* is no otherwiſe to be obtained, than by a prudent Direction of the Paſſion of Self-Love to its *proper Objects*, — by *confining* it to thoſe Objects, — and there giving it all poſſible *Aſſiſtance* and *Incouragement*. The Paſſion of Self-Love therefore muſt be taken hold of by ſome Method or other; and ſo *trained* or *guided* in its Operations, that its Activity may never be miſchievous, but always productive of the public Welfare. When Things are brought to that paſs, the Conſequence will be, that every Individual (whether he intends it or not) will be promoting the Good of his Country, and of Mankind in general, while he is purſuing his own private Intereſt.

BUT Self-Love is no otherwiſe to be taken hold of in the Caſe before us than either by having recourſe to PENAL LAWS, or by eſtabliſhing a JUDICIOUS POLITY. The Buſineſs of Penal Laws is to *terrify* or *puniſh*; but the Uſe of a judicious Policy is to *incline* and *incourage:* The one is to *deter* the Multitude from offending, the other to lead them by their own *free Choice* to virtuous Induſtry. This being the Caſe, it is eaſy to ſee which Method deſerves the Preference, — eſpecially in a *free* Country. Indeed the Multiplication even of *Penal Laws* would be of no Service, unleſs you armed the Magiſtrate with a proportionable Power to put them in Execution: And this, in other Words, would be giving him ſomething too like a *Carte Blanche* to act as he pleaſes. Such a degree of abſolute Power is too great a Truſt to be repoſed in *Man:* And perhaps is ſafe and beneficial only in the Hands of that Great Being, whoſe *Wiſdom and Goodneſs are over all his Works.*

WHEREFORE the only Thing deſirable in our Situation, is a *judicious Polity:* — Which may be farther deſcribed as a *preventive Regimen* of State, whereby the Temptations to Vice are removed, and ſuch Incouragements given to Virtue, as would induce a Man to execute the propoſed Regulations of his own free Choice, without the Appearance of Reſtraint or Compulſion. Thus a Traveller may be ſaid to *chooſe that Road*, which the *Public* hath *laid out* for him, when he finds that the *By-Roads* are deep, intricate, and diſagreeable, and the other ſtraight, eaſy, ſafe, and good:— He prefers the public Road, not becauſe he is *compelled* by any penal Statute, but becauſe he finds his own Advantage in his Compliance, and cannot find it any other way.

THIS may ſerve to explain in ſome meaſure the great Difference between *Polity* and *Law:* But if any thing is yet wanting to complete the Deſcription, it may be farther ſuggeſted, That the one is like a beautiful Machine, which regulates and adjuſts its own Motions; and the other a clumſy imperfect Work, which is always out of Order, unleſs the Maker ſtands by to correct and amend it. Now from theſe Hints and Illuſtrations it plainly appears; that the Influence of the one muſt be much more extenſive and univerſal than that of the other. And indeed thus it comes to paſs, that the *diſtinguiſhing* Characteriſtics of a People chiefly depend on their *National Polity*; whereas the general *Syſtem of Laws* makes no ſuch Difference. Antient and modern *Rome*, for Example, do not differ much from each other in the main Tenor of their Laws, relating to the common Principles of Juſtice and Equity:

Equity: But as to the whole Body of their Polity, it is in a manner diametrically oppoſite. And what is the Conſequence?— Plainly this; That the very Temper and Genius of the People are changed, and that there is not a greater Contraſt in Nature, than between the antient *Romans* and modern *Italians*.

THE Subject has hitherto been conſidered only in a *general* View; *viz.* That Self-Love ſhould be ſo directed as to promote its own, and the public Intereſt at the ſame Time; and that *Polity* is a properer Method than *Penal Laws* for giving it this Direction. — But the immediate Inquiry comes yet to be reſolved; *viz.* In what Particulars doth the Public Good conſiſt? And how ſhall the Paſſion of Self-Love be directed ſo as to produce the happy Effects intended? — In anſwer to the former Part of the Inquiry, it may be proper to obſerve, That the Good of any State doth plainly ariſe from the *Increaſe*, *Imployment*, and *Morals* of its Subjects; becauſe a *numerous*, *induſtrious*, and *virtuous* People, cannot fail of Plenty and Content at Home, of Reſpect and Influence Abroad. And in regard to the Method or Syſtem of Polity, How theſe great and good Ends are to be obtained, this is to be the Subject of the enſuing Diſcourſe.

PART I.

Containing certain Polities for increaſing the Number of People.

THE Neceſſity of attempting ſome Polity of this Nature, will abundantly appear from the following Conſiderations.

I. WHERE a Country is thinly peopled, it is impoſſible to promote a briſk and general Circulation of Induſtry and Labour, by reaſon of the Diſtance and Diſperſion of the People from each other, and the Conſequence of that, their Want of Rivalſhip and Emulation: — So that the greater Part of thoſe few Inhabitants muſt lead a ſauntering, lazy, and ſavage Life, thereby making near Approaches to the State of *mere Animals*, the moſt wretched of all others for an human Creature to be in. This Obſervation is confirmed by Experience; For in every

Country, extremely thin of Inhabitants, the People are proportionably poor and miſerable, and lead ſuch Lives as are but a few Removes from the brute Savages of the Woods and Mountains. Suppoſe only Ten Thouſand Inhabitants left in *Great Britain*, and what would be the Conſequence? —Theſe few Inhabitants would ſoon degenerate into *Britiſh* Savages, correſpondent to the Clans of the Highlands of *Scotland*, or the *Indians* of *America*. Suppoſe the Country better peopled, and then the Evil would leſſen in Proportion. It is moreover obſervable, That in Country Places, where there is a Scarcity of Inhabitants, one Trade will not be ſufficient for a Man's Subſiſtence, but ſeveral diſtinct Occupations muſt be joined together in order to obtain a bare and wretched Support: — By which means it comes to paſs, that there cannot be that *Quantity* of Work performed, as where every one exerciſes and improves himſelf in one particular Calling: And as to the *Quality*, or Workmanſhip itſelf, that muſt neceſſarily be clumſy, rude, and imperfect.

II. WHERE a Country is thinly peopled, the very Activity, or in other Words, the *exciting Cauſe* of that Activity, *viz.* the Self-Love of the Inhabitants, will take a wrong Turn. For in ſuch a Situation, the Figure that *Commerce* can make, muſt be very mean and contemptible: So that Country Gentlemen, who at the beſt do not entertain a very kind Opinion of the Advantages of Commerce, are confirmed in their Prejudices againſt it, and chooſe rather to vie with each other in the Dangers of the Chace, or the Pretenſions of Birth and Family, and the Length of their Pedigrees, than in giving Incouragement to the Increaſe of low-born Tradeſmen and Mechanics.

III. WHERE a Country is thinly peopled, the Property of Lands will be the more eaſily ingroſſed, and intailed in a few Families; by which means the Land-holders become more abſolute and deſpotic over their Vaſſals. In this Caſe, Numbers are kept in Poverty and Wretchedneſs to raiſe the *comparative* Grandeur of one Family, and flatter the Pride of their petty Tyrant: — I ſay, the *Pride* only; for as to the *Comforts* of Life, he will not be on a Level with a common Tradesman in a populous and induſtrious Country; becauſe he cannot have the Convenience of Markets, the Supplies of Foreign Trade, the Variety of uſeful Manufactures, or even the Pleaſures of Society: And all that he has to put in the Scale againſt theſe *real* Diſadvantages, is the imaginary and ungenerous Satisfaction derived from the greater Miſery

Miſery of his wretched Dependents. Whereas Commerce, as it is calculated to extend Induſtry, Happineſs, and Plenty, equalizes Mankind more than any other Way of Life; and at the ſame time that it connects them together in Bonds of *mutual Intereſt*, it renders them FREE. Trade and Vaſſalage, Commerce and Slavery are, in their Natures, repugnant to each other.

IV. A COUNTRY thinly peopled, has neither the *Strength*, nor *Riches* it would have, were it better inhabited; ſo that it cannot make that Figure in Peace, or War, it ought to do. For Numbers of People are the Strength, as Induſtry is the Riches of a Country. Nay, this very Depopulation, unleſs preventive Remedies are uſed, and a proper Polity introduced, muſt occaſion a farther Diminution of Inhabitants; becauſe ſeveral Perſons will be obliged to ſeek for Work in other Countries, as not having ſufficient Imployment, or a proper Conſumption of the Produce of the Lands, or the Labour of the Manufacturer among themſelves. The Lands muſt lie waſte, where there are no Markets; and the Artificers cannot be employed without Cuſtomers.

Now when a Country, bleſſed with the Advantages of Liberty and Peace, commodiouſly ſituated, and happy likewiſe in a mild and healthy Climate, with a Soil productive of great Quantities of good Materials both for foreign and domeſtic Commerce; — When ſuch a Country increaſes very ſlowly in the Number of its Inhabitants, which might have increaſed very faſt, we muſt conclude, that ſome Canker in Polity, or lurking Diſorder, is preying upon the Vitals of that Commonwealth; which, if not timely prevented, may bring on the moſt fatal Conſequences.

Now though *Great Britain* enjoys many ſignal Advantages, yet ſhe will be found to labour under ſore Difficulties at preſent, through a bad Syſtem of Polity, and the miſtaken Notions of public Welfare, and National Commerce, in the following Reſpects;

I. BECAUSE the Marriage State is loaded with many Taxes and Expences, from which a Single Life is free. For this Burden has the ſame Effect in its Operations, as if the Legiſlature had actually paſſed a Law to diſcourage Marriage, and incourage Celibacy. For the Father of a numerous Family, in paying the ſeveral Duties and Exciſes laid on thoſe Commodities which his Family conſumes, is *fined* as it were in thoſe reſpective Sums, from which a Batchelor is exempt: And yet the Batchelor is not put under any Diſcouragements of another Nature, whereby

whereby the Scale might be brought even, or rather inclined to favour the Matrimonial Side. Nay, as Places of Diverſion are continually multiplying, a Single Perſon with 200*l.* a Year, can make a more *modiſh* Appearance, and partake of a greater Variety of Pleaſures, and conſequently appear in a Condition *more deſirable* to the Generality of Mankind, than a married Man with twice that Sum.

II. SUCH an Inducement to Celibacy muſt be greatly prejudicial to good Morals; becauſe an Increaſe of Temptation will always cauſe an Increaſe of Vice. And again, a general Corruption of Morals is fatal to the Populouſneſs of a Country in various Ways. Thus the Evil operates back upon itſelf, ſpreading and increaſing as it goes on. Nay, as the Sexes will naturally aſſociate together in the ſingle State, and form Parties of Pleaſure, the very leaſt bad Conſequence that can happen, is a giddy, thoughtleſs Turn of Mind, and an utter Indiſpoſition for the Diſcharge of thoſe domeſtic Duties, on which the Good and Happineſs of Society greatly depend.

III. THE Country grows thinner of Inhabitants in thoſe Parts of the Kingdom where the Practice of deſtroying Cottages prevails, and joining ſeveral ſmall Farms together to make one *great Farm:* For every Cottage or Farm-Houſe thus deſtroyed, occaſions the Loſs of ſo many laborious, working Families to the Country. The ſame bad Effects are alſo produced by the unlimited Power of ingroſſing Landed Eſtates; by the Power of intailing them upon the Male Heir; the Power of ſettling them all upon the Eldeſt Son at the Marriage-Contract; and laſtly, by the Common Law of the Land, which gives all the Landed Eſtates of *inteſtate* Perſons to the Firſt-born Son, without ſhewing the leaſt Regard to the reſt of the Children. Theſe Monopolies of Land muſt occaſion, according as they prevail, a great Diminution of People. — Beſides, it is always obſervable, that in Proportion as the Property of Lands are more equally divided, in the ſame Proportion the Ground is better manured, cultivated and improved: And a great number of Farms, and middling Landed Eſtates, thick ſet together, not only occaſion a very great Number of Inhabitants, but alſo render it neceſſary that many of the Children of ſuch Inhabitants ſhould be brought up to Trades and Manufactures. And I will venture to add, that Manufacturers of this Claſs are the moſt uſeful, and the leaſt ſubject to Corruption of Morals. — But more of this hereafter.

IV. THE

IV. THE Nobility and Gentry of *England* are deterred from entering into the married State during the *Prime* of Life, becauſe they can have little or no Command over their Children, when they advance towards Years of Maturity. And a Father is by no Means deſirous of being treated diſreſpectfully by his Son, merely becauſe he is not likely to make a Vacancy as ſoon as the young Heir could wiſh him. Yet this Conſequence, bad as it is, too frequently happens to a middle-aged Man, as his Son draws towards the Years of twenty one. For at that Period of Life (ſuch is our wrong Polity) the Parental Authority is almoſt at an End, and the Son can ſhew an undutiful Behaviour with Impunity.

THEREFORE to avoid this diſagreeable Circumſtance, the Father ſends his hopeful Heir to travel into Foreign Parts, at the Age of Sixteen or Eighteen, a Seaſon of all others, in which it is moſt improbable he ſhould make any real Improvement; an Age in which he is too old for a School-boy, and too young to be able to make any uſeful Obſervations on Men or Things, being deſtitute of a proper Stock of Knowledge to form Compariſons between his own and foreign Countries, and without knowing the Difference between the Religion or Laws, the Polity or Government, the Commerce or Taxes of one Country from another. In ſhort, he is ſtrictly and literally a *Traveller*, that is, a *Paſſenger* through various Countries, and the greateſt *Stranger* to his own. However, as he ſtays Abroad for ſeveral Years, this is ſome Comfort and Relief to his Father.

BUT in general, as I ſaid before, Men of Faſhion do not marry in the Prime of Life. And it is obſervable, that they ſtay later in *England*, than in any other Country in *Europe*, — as if it were on purpoſe to be ready to move off the Stage, when their Succeſſors come on. But alas! if they continue ſingle during the Prime of their Years, in what manner do they ſpend their Time?—Generally in all the Exceſſes of Riot and Debauchery: ſo that thoſe of higher Rank, who ought to ſet the Example, ſeldom think of raiſing a Family, till they are fitter for an Hoſpital than the Bridal Bed. What an Offſpring! what Members of Society, or Defenders of their Country, are we to expect from ſuch Parents!

V. THE very Liberty which the *Engliſh* enjoy above other Nations, becomes in the Event, as Matters are *now* circumſtanced, a means of diſpeopling the Country. For it corrupts their Morals, hurries them into

into Vice and evil Courſes, ſhortens their Days, and deſtroys the natural Fertility of the Sexes. In one Word, If the regular Courſe of Providence hath taken off its *Thouſands* by natural Death, the Gallows and Electioneering, Spirituous Liquors and Debauchery have deſtroyed their MILLIONS.

VI. OUR numerous Colonies, extenſive and diſtant Navigation, perilous and unwholeſome Trades, are great and continual Drains upon us.—Add to all this, That *Holland*, *France*, and *Spain* keep great Numbers of *Britiſh* Troops in their Pay. Moreover, almoſt all the States in *Europe* draw off as many as they can of the Artificers, Sailors and Manufacturers of theſe Kingdoms, into their own; whilſt we are ſo far from retaliating the like upon them, that we are for diſcouraging thoſe few Foreigners who would voluntarily come over.

THE way to ſupply theſe Loſſes, and to put a Stop to many of the Evils here complained of, is to eſtabliſh ſuch a Polity as ſhall give Incouragement for increaſing the Numbers of People both by Matrimony, and by the Introduction of induſtrious Foreigners.

CHAP. I.

A Polity for the Incouragement of the Married State.

MARRIAGE is not only the expreſs Appointment of Divine Providence, but will be found upon Examination to be the only *effectual* Means (whatever licentious Talkers may pretend) for the Continuance and Preſervation of the Human Species. This will appear, if we conſider, that Nature has implanted in other Animals only a *temporary* Inſtinct towards each other; and in the Gratification of it hath given neither *Choice*, nor *Preference*, nor fixed any Ideas of *Beauty*, or *Merit* in the Male or Female Objects, as far as we can diſcover. Therefore Nature herſelf ſeems to have forbid any proper *Marriage*, or *laſting* Cohabitation among other Tribes of Animals. And this univerſal Law of Nature is univerſally obſerved throughout the Brute Creation. But in regard to the Human Species, the great Author of our Being hath taken a quite contrary Courſe, having implanted Appetites, which are *not periodical*, and given Ideas of *Merit* and *Beauty*, of *mental*

as

as well as *corporeal* Excellence. Judge therefore how abſurd it muſt be to reaſon from the Nature of Brutes to the Nature of Men, when theſe very Natures are in *direct Oppoſition* to each other. In ſhort, the very Circumſtances in which Men and Women find themſelves, ſuggeſt to them this plain Leſſon, That they were deſigned by Providence not only for *brutal*, but *ſocial* Converſe. To which End they have Capacities and Inclinations given them to chooſe and prefer, to eſteem and improve one another.

THE ſame Argument might appear in another Light by conſidering the Property of the Marriage Bed, as the Foundation of Civil Society, and conſequently of all the Advantages reſulting from it. For, if a Man has no reaſonable Security that the Children imputed to him are his own, what Motive has he to extend his Care and Concern beyond the Period of his own Life? And yet it is a moſt certain Fact, that the Progeny of the Human Species are in a more helpleſs State than thoſe of any other Animals yet known in the World: For they not only require to be nurſed and reared a much longer Time, than is neceſſary for the Young of any other Creature, but muſt be alſo clothed, houſed, educated, and enabled to get a Livelihood in ſome Trade, Buſineſs, or Profeſſion; otherwiſe they will not be fit to fulfil the Part incumbent on them as Members of human Society.

NOW the Way to render Marriage a Matter of univerſal Choice, and the Aim of both Sexes, is,

I. TO cauſe a Law to be enacted, That no Perſons ſhall either elect, or be elected to any Poſt of Honour or Profit throughout the Kingdom, but thoſe who either are, or have been married: And with regard to conferring Titles of Honour, and to the Diſpoſal of ſuch Civil Imployments as are lucrative or honourable, but not elective, they may likewiſe be ſubject to the ſame Regulations. As to any Objections that may be made againſt ſuch a Law, the like may be raiſed againſt every Propoſal calculated for the public Good; every legal Diſqualification whatever having been obſerved to bear hard upon particular Perſons: And were ſuch kind of Objections to be admitted, they would tend to prevent all new Laws from ever being made, and repeal all the old ones now in being.

II. IT is propoſed, That all Perſons ſhall be adjudged to be *Minors*, till they arrive at the Age of *Twenty Five* Years,—unleſs they *marry* before that time, *with* the *Conſent* of their Parents or Guardians, and ſo be admitted to be of Age at the preſent Period of *Twenty One*. And

in caſe they ſhould marry *againſt* the Conſent of Parents or Guardians, between the Years of twenty one and twenty five, the Marriage itſelf ſhall be deemed *firm* and *valid*, but the young Perſon ſhall ſtill be a *Minor* in Law, till the full Age of twenty five; that being the general Date from which a *Majority ſhould commence*. And indeed in moſt other Countries, the uſual Time of *Majority*, as the celebrated Marquiſs of *Halifax* well obſerves in his Miſcellaneous Tracts *, is *twenty five*. And it would be difficult to alledge any Reaſon why it ſhould be earlier among us: For ſurely, as the Marquiſs ſays,—*It is not that we are earlier Plants than our Neighbours*. One thing is certain, That there are more Fortunes ſpent, more Conſtitutions ruined, and bad Principles infuſed into the Minds of young Men of Faſhion between the Years of twenty and twenty five here in *Britain*, than in all the other Parts of Life. That *commercial* People the *Dutch* think it full ſoon for their Youths to be of Age at *twenty three:* And yet they do not lay the ſame Temptations in the Way of the *eldeſt* Son to be *riotous* and a *Spendthrift* that we do; becauſe they divide their Subſtance much more equally among their Children, than is done in *England*.

III. It is propoſed, That the Statute made in the fifth Year of Queen *Elizabeth* againſt Perſons exerciſing any Myſtery, Craft, or *mechanic* Trade, who have not ſerved an Apprenticeſhip for ſeven Years, be repealed as to *married* Men, but remain in force againſt *Batchelors*. The Statute itſelf is one of thoſe which has the Public Good for its Pretence, but was really meant to ſerve the baſe Ends of private Intereſt and Monopoly;—in which even the Self-Intereſted themſelves were groſſly deceived: For this Statute, by being univerſal in its *Reſtraint*, and confining almoſt all Trades alike, excludes *Cuſtomers* as well as *Rivals*, ſo that in fact every Perſon is hurt, and no body benefited.—As to a Zeal for the Public Good, this Principle could never lead any Man, in his Senſes, to exclude the *Induſtrious* and *Ingenious* from the *Common Rights* of Society: And yet the Framers of this Statute had plainly nothing elſe in View. For they knew full well, *from Fact and univerſal Experience*, That Nature herſelf has formed certain Perſons for certain Trades, and given them ſuch Knowledge by *Inſtinct*, as no human Artiſt could communicate by Inſtruction: And it is very remarkable, That not only all new Inventions, but almoſt all the Improvements in Arts and Sciences were the Diſcoveries of thoſe, who had not ſerved a *regular Apprenticeſhip* to the Buſineſs. Why then ſhould ſuch Men be debarred from

* Cautions and Conſiderations for chooſing Members of Parliament, *Article* IX.

from following their *natural* Genius, and making a *proper* Uſe of their *Talents* for their own, and their Country's Welfare? Beſides, what is it to the Wearer of a Pair of Shoes, for inſtance, whether the Maker ſerved ſeven Years or not?—By *wearing* them he himſelf becomes the *beſt Judge* of the *Goodneſs of the Work:* And if they are good, he will buy again of the *ſame* Maker; but if they are not, it is no Conſolation to him, That he has bought *bad Shoes* of a *regular bred* Shoemaker, who is *free* of the Company, has walked in a Proceſſion, and wore a fur Gown. However, ſince the Statute is made, and has been long in force, and ſince the Prejudices of Mankind are obſtinate things, and not to be overcome at once,—the moſt adviſable Method ſeems to be, To graft a good National Polity upon this bad Law, rather than abſolutely repeal it, and by making it ſubſervient to the Promotion of Matrimony, *to draw Good out of Evil.*

IV. It is propoſed, That *married* Men ſhall be *free*, not only to work as Journeymen, but alſo to ſet up all Sorts of *mechanic* Trades in every City and corporate Place whatever, without *Fee*, or Acknowledgment in any Shape or Form. And to make this Propoſal go down the better with thoſe Perſons, who pique themſelves upon the *imaginary* and *fallacious Diſtinction (Right* I cannot call it) of being *Freemen*, it may be enacted, That the Privilege of hanging out *Signs*, *Shewboards*, or *Names*, and of keeping *open* Shops (that is to ſay, A Shop with a Bulk to it, and without Glaſs Windows) be confined to Citizens and Burgeſſes; and that all others be content with diſplaying their Names and Goods within-ſide of the Glaſs.

V. It is propoſed, That *married* Men ſhall be free to reſide whereever they pleaſe, with their Wives and Children, without regard to Pariſh Settlements or Certificates;—provided ſome ſubſtantial Perſon (an Inhabitant in the Pariſh to which they come) ſhall give Five Pounds Security to the Overſeers of the Poor, or the proper Officer, That ſuch *new Comers* ſhall not be chargeable to the Pariſh for three Calendar Months after their Arrival. Such a Security may poſſibly be expedient on many Accounts: And as it would ſerve to blunt the Edge of Oppoſition, it might be conſidered as the Baſis of a new Regulation concerning Pariſh Settlements, wherein Cavilling and Contention could have no Place. For the very Date of the Bond would be *one* authentic Proof, whether the Perſon or Family in queſtion had reſided upwards of three Calendar Months or not; and conſequently whether intitled

titled to a Pariſh Maintenance, in Caſe of Sickneſs, Diſability, *&c.*—But if any Pariſh admitted a Perſon or Family to reſide among them for a longer Space than *ſix Weeks*, without this *Caution*,—be that at their own Peril; and they muſt take the Conſequence upon themſelves, in Caſe the Stranger ſhould become a Burden. Thus would every Pariſh know what they had to truſt to, and the Poor would never be without a Settlement.—As to the preſent Set of Laws concerning Paupers and Pariſh Settlements, they are equally abſurd and unjuſt; nor is there any *one* good Conſequence reſulting from them.

In the firſt Place, the Pariſhes themſelves, for whoſe Benefit theſe Laws were intended, are ſo far from receiving any Advantage, that they are greatly hurt by them. For by their means every Pariſh is put into a State of War with the reſt of the Kingdom; and if a Man hath an Eſtate in two Pariſhes, he is frequently obliged to join in this unnatural War againſt his own ſelf concerning Pariſh Settlements. Beſides, ſuppoſe even that a Pariſh, now and then, prevents the Incumbrance of a Pauper and his Family, by means of theſe Laws;—do not other Pariſhes the ſame? that is, If *Briſtol* prevents the Incumbrance of a Pauper coming from *York*, will not *York* make the like Retaliation upon *Briſtol?* Where then is the Advantage to either?—Not to mention that theſe Pariſh Refuſals and paſſing of Paupers are neceſſarily attended with great Expence, and perhaps with Law-Suits which coſt ten times the Sum in queſtion. To theſe Abſurdities there is another, if poſſible, yet greater; *viz.* That one Pariſh is frequently obliged to be at the whole Expence of maintaining a poor Perſon, and another ſhall receive the Benefit of all his Labour. In his Infancy he is a Burden and Expence; when he grows to Maturity he leaves his Native Place, and works as a *Journeyman* or a *Labourer* for Years together, without gaining a *legal* Settlement; but when he is taken Sick, or is paſt his Labour, he is ſent home again to his original Pariſh, who are obliged to receive him, and to maintain him as long as he lives. What can be the Charm in old Cuſtoms which infatuates the Minds of Men to ſuch a Degree, that they cannot ſee the moſt palpable Abſurdities, whereby their immediate Intereſt is ſo greatly injured?

In the next Place, if the Pariſhes themſelves are ſuch Loſers, the Public muſt be ſo in all Capacities.—Not to mention, That in a Commercial State it ought to be the conſtant Aim of the Legiſlature to continue Matters in ſuch a Manner, that every Hand ſhould be employed, and none kept idle that are either willing or able to work. But how can this be effected, unleſs there is either ſufficient Work

provided

provided for the Poor at home, at *all Times and Seaſons*, (a Suppoſition too extravagant to be admitted) or the Poor be ſuffered to ſeek for Imployment where-ever they can find it? Beſides, there are many Trades which are only *temporary*, and in their own Nature *periodical:* —others have a *Glut* of Buſineſs at one time, and none at all at another; either therefore the labouring Poor ought to have *double* or *treble* Wages for the Time they can have Work, in order to lay up againſt the *long Vacation*, or they ſhould be permitted to ſeek for ſome Imployment or other, at every Place and in every Seaſon.

LASTLY, If the Pariſhes and the Public are Loſers, what muſt the Poor be, who are the Perſons immediately affected? And indeed the Inhumanity frequently practiſed on theſe Occaſions is quite ſhocking to relate. An induſtrious Man ſhall be forced from his Buſineſs and his Bread, where he his enriching his Country by his Labour, and be ſent to ſtarve with a large Family upon *Pariſh Pay*, merely becauſe he is not a *legal Pariſhioner* in the Place where his Buſineſs lies, and may *poſſibly* be chargeable. If he demands a Certificate from the Pariſh to which he *legally* belongs, they will certainly deny him, in hopes he may gain a *legal* Settlement elſewhere. And if any Pariſh finds that a Labourer or a Journeyman has by chance obtained a Certificate of his Settlement, they will not let him contract, as a Covenant-Servant, for longer time than eight, ten, or at fartheſt *eleven* Months, in order to have it in their Power to ſend him to his original Pariſh whenever they pleaſe. Thus are the Poor treated in regard to their Labour;—and even as to *Marriage*, the Overſeers and the Juſtices frequently exerciſe a Power, for as to Right, in reality they have none, of forbidding the Banns of poor Perſons, leſt they ſhould bring a Charge upon the Pariſh. Now all theſe, and indeed many more Impoſitions of the like Kind, aroſe originally from the deſpotic and tyrannical Notions of *Baron* and *Vaſſal*, which anſwered in former Times to the modern Ideas of *Planter* and *Slave*;—Ideas very unfavourable to the Increaſe of Inhabitants, and to the Circulation of Induſtry in every View. The Baron, the Planter, and the Pariſh-Officer act all upon the ſame Principle, when they would reſtrain their Vaſſals, Negroes, or labouring Poor from ſtirring beyond the reſpective Bounds preſcribed. However, as I ſaid concerning a former Article, ſince the Laws are enacted and daily executed, and ſince the Nation are *habituated* to this abſurd and cruel Practice, it would be more adviſeable to graft a good Polity on theſe bad Laws, than abſolutely to repeal them. And the Security abovementioned of Five Pounds, will effectually prevent the Idle and the Vagabond

gabond from being troubleſome, at the ſame time, that it will allure the Ingenious, Induſtrious, and Ambitious to puſh their Fortune, where-ever they can find it will anſwer beſt.

VI. It is propoſed, That Men ſhall not be allowed to work at, to ſet up, or carry on certain Trades, which properly belong to Women, —unleſs they *marry*, and ſo may be conſidered as *Aſſiſtants* to their Wives. Theſe Trades will be more fully ſet forth, when we come to treat of the Polity proper for ſecuring and promoting good Morals. And *Note*, All the four laſt Articles, *viz.* That relating to ſerving an Apprenticeſhip,—That relating to Corporate Places,—That relating to Pariſh Settlements,—and the preſent concerning the Trades proper for Women, muſt come frequently under Conſideration in the Progreſs of this Work; becauſe the Polities here attempted to be grafted upon them, are not only means to increaſe the Numbers of People, but alſo the moſt effectual Methods of promoting Commerce, Induſtry, and good Morals.

VII. It is propoſed, That all Men for the firſt twelve Calendar Months after Marriage, ſhall be exempted from ſerving any Offices they ſhall pleaſe to decline; alſo be freed from paying all *perſonal* Duties and Taxes whatſoever.—In regard to this ſeventh Propoſal, be it remembered, That it is a Tranſcript of a Part of that admirable Polity which *Moſes* introduced by Divine Command into the *Hebrew* Conſtitution; whereby the little Territory of *Paleſtine* (not much larger than the Principality of *Wales)* became the moſt populous and the beſt cultivated Country on the Face of the Globe. Nor let any one object, That ſuch Exemptions throw the Burden upon others; for ſurely the moſt effectual Way to *lighten* the Weight of any Burden is, To lay a Scheme for increaſing the Numbers of thoſe who are *ſpeedily* to contribute towards the Support of it. Thus, therefore, might the married State be rendered deſirable, and become the Object of the Wiſhes of both Sexes. For it is humbly preſumed, that all the Regulations here propoſed, are ſuch as would want very little Inforcement from Courts of Judicature; becauſe they would execute themſelves, and conſequently muſt be effectual. As to the firſt Regulation, which excludes Batchelors from Titles of Honour, and Offices of Honour, Power, or Profit;—and the ſecond which fixes the Time of *Majority* to twenty five Years, both theſe may be ſoftened by a *ſaving Clauſe*, as far as regards the preſent Generation: That is, the *preſent* Admirers of a ſingle Life may be *excepted* from

from the Diſqualifications here propoſed, if they ſhall have attained to the Age of twenty one Years *before* the paſſing of ſuch a Law. And as this Exception may be neceſſary in order to diſarm the Fury of their Oppoſition, and will likewiſe be only a *temporary* Thing, the Inconveniencies attending it will *diminiſh* every Day.

But after all, it ought not to be concealed, that there is one Difficulty ſtill remaining, and ſuch a one as, will ſometimes defeat, if it cannot be removed, the Intent of the beſt of theſe Regulations in favour of Marriage. It is the Difficulty of obtaining a Divorce in Caſes of Adultery. For as the Law now ſtands, the Innocent are puniſhed, while the Guilty triumph. A Man, for Example, though convicted of the moſt notorious Adultery, ſhall ſtill enjoy his whole Fortune; and the injured Wife obtain no other Satisfaction, than to be ſeparated from *Bed* and *Board*; which can be no Puniſhment at all to the Adulterer. Again, If the Huſband is the innocent Perſon, and the Wife the Adultereſs, he ſhall not be allowed a ſecond Marriage, even though he ſhould declare in open Court, that he hath Reaſons both of *Prudence* and *Religion* againſt continuing in a ſingle State. Thus is he puniſhed, as if he was the guilty Perſon;—unleſs he hath Friends and Money to obtain a Divorce by Act of Parliament.

Now if ſuch Divorces *à Vinculo Matrimonii*, as they are called, are *unjuſt* in themſelves, no Power on Earth hath a Right to grant them; nor can a thouſand Acts of Parliament diſſolve that Marriage which is not cancelled by the Laws of God. But if the Parliament is juſtified for diſannulling a Marriage upon plain Proofs of Adultery, why ſhould not the inferior Courts of Juſtice have the ſame Power, when the ſame Proof is laid before them?—Nay, ſuch a Proof, on which the Act of Parliament itſelf is built? For it is obſervable, That no Act of Parliament can be obtained, till the Adultery hath *firſt* been proved in another Court. Moreover, if Huſbands are intitled to the Privilege of being *totally* divorced, upon full Evidence of the Infidelity of their Wives, why ſhould not the ſame Liberty be granted to the other Sex? Sure I am, that the Marriage Vow of Faithfulneſs and Affection, is the ſame in both Caſes; the Men likewiſe are as capable by Nature of adhering to their Ingagement: and though a Breach on the Part of the Women may ſometimes be attended with greater *temporal* Inconveniencies, yet if the Contract itſelf is not to be diſannulled by the Crime of Adultery, the mere Plea of greater Inconvenience will appear a very weak one. Beſides, it is ſuch a Plea, as in certain Caſes, may be made with greater juſtice on the Woman's Side, than on the Man's; therefore

fore it would follow, that when *ſuch* Circumſtances occur, the Woman ought to have the full Power of a *total* Divorce, and not the Man.

THIS being the preſent State and Imperfection of our Laws, let us now ſee what Lights may be drawn from the holy Scriptures towards correcting and amending them.

FIRST therefore it appears, That when *Moſes* conſtituted the Body of the Jewiſh Law, the Practice of divorcing Wives *at Pleaſure* was very frequent in that Age, and in thoſe Countries. For even in * the Books of *Leviticus* and *Numbers* we find the Affair of Divorces ſpoken of as a *ſettled* Uſage, and a Cuſtom *univerſally* prevailing: So that *Moſes* was ſo far from introducing this Practice, that he *moderated* the Exerciſe of it by confining it to *narrower* Bounds. And this agrees with the Words of our Lord, who ſaid, "That *Moſes SUFFERED* them to "put away their Wives, becauſe of the *Hardneſs* of their Hearts;"—a ſtrong Intimation, That if theſe *arbitrary* Divorces could have been *intirely* prevented at *that Juncture*, it would have ſtill been better. However, what *Moſes* † did, was a conſiderable Check upon *haſty*, *paſſionate*, and *capricious* Separations, though it was very far from being a thorough Prevention of the Evil.

SECONDLY, We muſt farther obſerve, That all Divorces under the Moſaical Diſpenſation were *total* and *final*: That is, They were Separations not only from *Bed* and *Board*, as the Canoniſts ſpeak, but total Diſſolutions of the Marriage Covenant: So that the Phraſe, *To put away one's Wife*, carried the ſame Signification to them, as a *Parliamentary Divorce* doth to us; and each of the Parties might marry again whom and when they pleaſed. Such was the Language and Meaning of the Words in our Saviour's Time: And therefore when the Phariſees aſked him, "Whether it was lawful for a Man to put away his Wife," they included the *Power* of marrying another, as a neceſſary Part of the

* See *Leviticus* xxi. 14. Chap. xxii. 13. alſo *Numbers* xxx. 9.

† The Words of *Moſes* are, "When a Man hath taken a Wife and married her, "and it come to paſs, that *ſhe find no Favour in his Eyes*, becauſe he hath found *ſome* "*Uncleanneſs in her*: Then let him write her a Bill of Divorcement, and give it in her "Hand, and ſend her out of his Houſe. And when ſhe is departed out of his Houſe, "ſhe may go and *be another Man's Wife.*" Deut. xxiv. 1, 2. Now this Expreſſion, *ſome Uncleanneſs* in her, is very *ambiguous* and *indeterminate*: And yet the Ambiguity in the *Original* is ſtill greater.—Moſt probably the Meaning was, That when the Huſband had diſcovered ſome *very great Imperfection* either of *Body* or *Mind* in his Wife, which her Parents, Guardians, *&c.* had *induſtriouſly concealed* from him, then he was at Liberty to divorce her if he pleaſed. And there was ſome Colour for the Exerciſe of ſuch a Power in an *Eaſtern* Country, where the Man and Wife muſt have been, in a manner, *quite Strangers* to each other, till the Day of their Marriage.

the Idea. Indeed theſe two Expreſſions were generally conſidered as equivalent Terms. For when our Lord preached his Divine Sermon on the Mount to a mixed and popular Audience, he uſed the very ſame Expreſſions as equivalent one to the other, *viz.* "It hath been "ſaid, Whoſoever ſhall *put away his Wife*, let him give her a Writing "of Divorcement; but I ſay unto you, that whoſoever ſhall *put away* "*his Wife*, *ſaving* for the Cauſe of *Fornication*, *cauſeth* her to com- "mit Adultery. And whoſoever ſhall *marry* her that is divorced, "committeth Adultery," *Matt.* v. 31, 39. Where we may obſerve, That he takes it for *granted*, that the *Jewiſh* Wife, according to the Cuſtom of her Country (where Matrimony was ſtrictly required, and univerſally countenanced) would *not* remain in a *ſingle* State, but would ſoon *marry* again: which Marriage he pronounces to be an Act of Adultery.—But why ſo? why is this Marriage to be reckoned adulterous more than others? The Reaſon is aſſigned by our Lord himſelf, *viz.* "Becauſe the former Marriage Contract holds good, unleſs it is "*vacated* by the Crime of *Infidelity*: For this is the *only Crime* which "diſſolves the Nuptial Tie, and allows a Man *to put away his Wife*; "that is, *marry again*."

THIRDLY, It is alſo to be obſerved, That Divorces were ſtill more *frequent* and *arbitrary* among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, than among the *Jews*. For both Men and Women had a Power of *divorcing each other*, without aſſigning any Cauſe, Motive, or Reaſon whatever; and might afterwards marry whom they pleaſed. This being the Caſe, let us conſider ourſelves as ſtript of all *modern* Ideas relating to theſe things, and let us fix the ſame Meaning to the Words, which the *Jews* did in our Saviour's time, and the *Greeks* and *Romans* in the time of St *Paul*.

NOW the Phariſees, in their Application to our Lord, put the Queſtion in this Form, "Is it lawful for a Man to put away his Wife for EVERY CAUSE?" That is, in other Words, Is it lawful for a Man to be divorced *at Pleaſure?*—For ſuch they were *willing* to hope, was the Indulgence granted them by *Moſes*. To which Inquiry he replied in two Places, viz. *Mark* x. 2—12. and *Luke* xvi. 18. That ſuch *arbitrary* Divorces were *not juſtifiable*;—giving a general Anſwer to a general Queſtion. But in two other Places, viz. *Matt.* v. 31, 32. and Chap. xix. 3—9. He not only gives the *general* Anſwer, but alſo adds the *particular* Exception, by ſhewing, That a Divorce is lawful in the Caſe of Adultery, and *in that only*.

MOREOVER, when St *Paul* wrote to the *Corinthians* in Anſwer to a Queſtion of theirs concerning Marriages and Divorces, it is evident

from the Context, That he meant nothing more than to expreſs his Diſapprobation of thoſe *arbitrary* and *capricious* Divorces, which were then in uſe among the Gentiles. For theſe People, knowing their Power of diſſolving the Marriage Contract, whenever they pleaſed, were *tempted* to carry every little domeſtic Quarrel and trifling Diſpute to this fatal Extremity. Indeed, *healing* Counſels and *mutual* Forgiveneſs were ſcarce known, and ſeldom practiſed in any of thoſe Countries, where both the Parties could wreak their Revenge upon each other by inſiſting upon the Privilege of a Divorce. And therefore this unlimited Privilege, as ſome are pleaſed to call it, would be ſo far from being advantageous to Society, or even to *domeſtic* Happineſs, could it be attainable in our Days, that it would always *exaſperate* and *inflame*, inſtead of *cooling* and *calming* the Paſſions of Mankind. Excellent therefore was the Advice of the Apoſtle, " If the Woman *will* depart, " let her remain *unmarried*, or be *reconciled* to her Huſband: And let " not the Huſband put away his Wife." He had before been exhorting them to live in Union and Harmony: But if Differences ſhould ariſe, and theſe be carried to ſo great a Height as to cauſe a Separation between them, then he directs, That they muſt not think of entering into *new* Marriage Contracts with other Perſons, but remain unmarried in order to come together again, and *be reconciled*. This State of the Caſe is farther illuſtrated by what follows, " If any Brother hath a " Wife that believeth not, and ſhe be pleaſed to dwell with him, let " him not put her away. And the Woman which hath an Huſband " that believeth not, if he be pleaſed to dwell with her, let her " not leave him." Where we may obſerve, That the Apoſtle was guarding againſt *Family Diſputes* on Account of the Differences of Religion:—and not at all entering into the Reaſonableneſs or Unreaſonableneſs of Divorces on Account of Adultery: Indeed our Lord himſelf had determined that Queſtion long before.

UPON the Whole therefore, thus much muſt now be ſurely taken for granted, That our Lord and St *Paul* introduced no *new Diſtinctions* into the Nature of a Divorce, but only confined the Practice of it to much narrower Bounds than either *Jews* or *Gentiles* had been accuſtomed to. If therefore a Man is allowed by the Goſpel of Chriſt to *put away* his Wife for the Cauſe of Adultery, he is likewiſe allowed to *marry another*; theſe two Phraſes ſignifying the ſame Thing in the Language of the Goſpel. As to the Popiſh Diſtinctions of a Divorce *à Menſa & Thoro*,—and a Divorce *à Vinculo Matrimonii*, they were not known in that Age, nor in many hundred Years afterwards; but were the Invention

Invention of the Canoniſts and the Court of *Rome*, in order to create a Market for their own Diſpenſations, Pardons, Indulgencies, Abſolutions, *&c. &c.* And the Misfortune was, that at the Time of the Reformation, People were in too great an Agitation of Spirits, to be able to examine with Deliberation how far the Corruptions of Popery had interwoven themſelves into the more diſtant Parts of the Conſtitution: nor indeed was it an eaſy Matter, at ſuch a Juncture, to preſcribe a Remedy for the more latent and leſs obvious Diſorders, when the beſt Heads and the warmeſt Hearts had enough to do to recover the *vital* Parts of the Conſtitution from the principal and more malignant Evils it laboured under. And thus it comes to paſs, That at this Day we retain a monſtrous Share of Popery (that is, the *Effects* of Popery) in many Branches of our Religious, Civil, and Commercial Polity, after it hath been baniſhed out of our Articles of Faith, and Syſtems of Belief.

BUT having now cleared up the Difficulty which embaraſſed this Affair, I have only to remark, That the *Cautions* to be obſerved in giving Sentence in Caſes of Divorce are obvious and plain enough: For if every Divorce was attended with ſix, or twelve Months Impriſonment of the *Guilty*, together with a *very large* Fine to be levied out of the *proper* Eſtate or Fortune of ſuch offending Perſons for the Uſe of the *Innocent*, there could be no ſuch Thing as a *colluſive* or *fraudulent* Divorce: And if both Parties accuſed, and proved each other guilty of Adultery, then both ought to ſuffer Impriſonment, and their reſpective Forfeitures be given to the Poor.

FROM hence therefore, let us take a View of the happy Conſequences which muſt reſult from the whole of ſuch a Syſtem operating *uniformly* together.

I. THEN, If the propoſed Regulations took Place, every general Election, inſtead of being ſo extremely pernicious to the Morals and Manufactures of the Kingdom, as Elections are now obſerved to be, would eventually promote the Happineſs of Society in all Reſpects:—Alſo as no Man would attempt to offer himſelf a Candidate for Places of Honour, Profit, or Preferment in the *State*, nor could enjoy any Titles of Honour, unleſs he were married;—and as the excluſive Privileges of Cities, Boroughs, and Corporate Societies,—and the reſtraining Laws relating to Trades and Pariſh Settlements would operate *only* againſt *Batchelors*, the CONSEQUENCE would be, that the whole Kingdom, without Force or Compulſion, would prefer the married

State to any other Condition; ſo that it would become even the *Faſhion* of the Times to be a married Man; and a Batchelor would be looked upon with Ignominy and Contempt.

II. As Matrimony became more deſireable, or, if you pleaſe, more *faſhionable*; the Taſte for public Pleaſures and Diverſions would ſubſide of Courſe; and both Sexes would begin to cultivate ſuch Tempers and Diſpoſitions of Mind, as would be the fitteſt Qualifications for the Married State, and become the moſt uſeful in domeſtic Life.

III. The Conſequence of this would be, that the Perſons actually engaged in the married State and the Cares of a Family, would be much happier in themſelves than can now be expected from them.—Becauſe at preſent they ſee with Regret thoſe Pleaſures, which they cannot partake of ſo frequently and completely as ſingle Perſons do: And upon the Strength of this Circumſtance, they make themſelves miſerable in forming Compariſons to their own Diſadvantage.—Such a Source of domeſtic Uneaſineſs is not to be removed, till the firſt Cauſe and Origin of it is taken away. For Mankind in general will always be found to be better or worſe, in proportion to the Increaſe or Decreaſe of the Temptations that ſurround them.

IV. Men of the greateſt Property and Fortune would then marry in the Prime of Life, both as they could not make any Figure in their Country without this Qualification, and as the great Temptations to Debauchery would then be removed: nor would their Sons be ſent abroad ſo young, raw, and unexperienced as they now are.

V. After Perſons are married and have Families, the very Principle of *Self-Love* inclines them much more ſtrongly than when in a ſingle State, to a ſober and induſtrious Courſe of Life; becauſe Sobriety and Induſtry are the *natural Means* of ſupporting themſelves with Credit and Reputation, and of making a Proviſion for their Family.

VI. The ſame Principle of Self-Love would induce them to give their Children a Religious Education, and train them up in ſome virtuous and honeſt Calling: For it never can be the *general* Intereſt of Parents (not to mention Motives of a higher Nature) to bring up their Children to *Idleneſs* and *Irreligion*.

VII. Were

VII. WERE that Regulation to obtain, which fixes the Age of *Twenty Five* for the Time of *Majority*, the Parental Power would be ſufficiently enlarged, which at preſent is undoubtedly too low in *England*; and Parents would have a reaſonable Influence over their Children in the Diſpoſal of them in Marriage, without Tyranny or Compulſion. Indeed, Caſes of this Nature are attended with perplexing Difficulties on all Sides; but there are fewer Difficulties on this ſide, than on the other; and the Advantages both to Society, and to the Individuals themſelves would be, upon the whole, much greater.

VIII. WHEN the Morals of the People are in general amended, fewer will periſh by drinking *Spirituous* Liquors, and other Habits of Intemperance, the preſent fruitful Sources of Diſeaſe and Villainy; alſo the Numbers of Convicts will be leſſened, and very few will be obliged to leave their Country through *Shame* or *Want*.

IX. WHEN Matrimony is duly encouraged, the unnatural Luſts themſelves will then grow leſs frequent than they are now reported to be. For theſe horrid Vices, generally ſpeaking, are derived from one or other of the following *bad Sources*, viz. Either from a *Prohibition* of the natural Uſe of the Sexes, or the *Satiety* of abandoned Lewdneſs and ſhameleſs Proſtitution. Now as the latter Vice prevails at preſent in this Country, it is no wonder that the Crimes againſt Nature ſhould be the Conſequence: For this was ever the Caſe both in antient and modern Times, as all Hiſtories do teſtify.

X. As nothing in this Life can be abſolutely perfect,—we will ſuppoſe the Marriage State, notwithſtanding theſe good Regulations, to prove ſometimes greatly unhappy through the Infidelity of one of the Parties:—Yet even then the Remedy of a Divorce would be at hand to relieve the *Innocent*. And this itſelf might be a Means to engage many Perſons to venture upon that State, which, at the worſt, would not then be, as it is now, without a Remedy: Indeed ſuch a Check would be a Motive to all in general to obſerve a regular and unblameable Behaviour, knowing the *Penalty*, as well as *Infamy* attending the *guilty* Perſon in Caſe of a Divorce.

BUT, as we have obſerved before, the Crime of Infidelity, as well as all other Crimes, would be much leſs frequent in both Sexes, in proportion as the Temptations and Tempters were removed or decreaſed.

CHAP. II.

A Polity for the Admiſſion of Wealthy and Induſtrious Foreigners.

THE Reaſons for inſtituting ſuch a Polity, and the Advantages ariſing from the free Admiſſion of wealthy and induſtrious Foreigners, will appear at large by the following Conſiderations.

I. MANY of the *beſt* and moſt *uſeful* Subjects in foreign Countries and arbitrary Governments, are often harraſſed and oppreſſed by the *Minions* in Power. For any Pretext will ſerve, where Merit is dangerous, and Wealth a treaſonable Crime, to prevent the Increaſe of ſuch Subjects, or reduce them to a Level with others. Therefore ſuch Perſons as are the moſt deſerving and the moſt induſtrious, are the beſt intitled to our Protection, and the fitteſt to be incorporated into a free State.

II. THE *Romiſh* Religion never ceaſes to perſecute the Proteſtants in every Country, where it can; and theſe Proteſtants, generally ſpeaking, are Merchants and Mechanics, Perſons the moſt uſeful in a State, and the moſt wanted in our own,—and more eſpecially deſerving the Regard of that Kingdom on a *religious* Account, which is at the Head of the *Proteſtant* Religion.

III. IN ſome Countries Merchants and Tradeſmen are treated with great *Contempt* merely on Account of their *Profeſſion*, and dare not make that *diſplay* of their Riches which their Fortunes could eaſily ſupport, leſt they ſhould give umbrage to the Government to oppreſs them with Taxes, or for fear of exciting the Envy and Jealouſy of the *Nobleſſe* by the ſuperior Figure they could make in Society. Now ſuch Perſons as theſe ought to be particularly invited to ſettle in a Country, which prefers the Glory of Commerce to that of Conqueſt.

IV. IT

IV. It is the Intereſt of this Nation to *invite* thoſe Foreigners who have Money in the Public Funds to reſide in *Great Britain*, becauſe the Savings of the Remittances of ſo much *Yearly Intereſt* (now conſtantly ſent abroad) would be a very great Addition to the National Stock. But the preſent Expences of a private Bill for Naturalization are ſo great, that many Foreigners (having Money in our Funds, and who are willing to make a Purchaſe of an Houſe, or a Piece of Land, or to engage in ſome Branch of Merchandiſe) are deterred from ſettling in *England*, ſeeing they cannot enjoy the Emoluments of their own Fortune, without paying ſo dearly for it. Suppoſe therefore the Mind of a Foreigner to be *balancing*, whether he ſhall ſettle here, or continue in his own Country;—in ſuch a Situation a very little would turn the Scale:—And whatever a prejudiced *Engliſhman* may ſuppoſe of the Charms of *Old England*, an indifferent Foreigner, who doth not ſee with the ſame Eyes, will not eſteem it a very ſignal Favour to be allowed to ſpend his Money among us, and to enrich this Country at his own Expence.

V. As the Introduction of Foreigners brings in Riches, ſo doth it open alſo larger Correſpondencies;—it preſents us likewiſe with the Inventions and Sagacity of other Nations, creates more Imployment for the Natives, helps and improves all our old Manufactures, and ſets up new ones;—thus impoveriſhing our Rivals, at the ſame Time that it enriches ourſelves.

VI. When a Country is *open* for the Reception of Foreigners, it is proper to inquire, What ſort of foreign Adventurers are likelieſt to come in, and to try their Fortunes.—Foreign Beggars, for Example (concerning whom ſo great a Dread hath been pretended) are ignorant of the Language of any Country but their own. Judge therefore, to what Purpoſe ſhould they come over to exerciſe the Trade of Begging, without being able to tell their doleful Tale, in which conſiſts the very Art and Myſtery of their Trade? Beſides, as Idleneſs and Lazineſs are their grand Characteriſtic, they will not engage in any Enterprize, that is to coſt them long Journies and much Fatigue: Add to this, that their very Poverty is a Bar againſt the Expence of a Voyage into *England*; an Expence ſtill heightened to Strangers, as they are unacquainted with the Ways of Living of the Country, and know not *how* or *where* to be accommodated on the cheapeſt Terms. Now this reaſoning

ing ought to be attended to, becauſe it is confirmed by Fact and Experience: For though *Great Britain* is *open* to all the Beggars of the Univerſe (who cannot be *legally* driven away after they are *once arrived here)* yet perhaps there is not a ſingle Inſtance of any Perſon coming into this Country with a View to exerciſe the Trade of Begging.—And what has been obſerved concerning Beggars, holds equally true concerning the *Lazy* and *Undeſerving* of any other Profeſſion. For ſuch Creatures have neither the Talents nor Ambition for puſhing their Fortunes in a ſtrange Country: And indeed it is ſcarce poſſible, that any Foreigners ſhould ſucceed, but thoſe who are conſcious to themſelves of ſuperior Talents, Induſtry, or Frugality in ſome reſpect or other.—Now ſuch Adventurers as theſe are a Bleſſing to every State where they ſettle: And would to God, they were properly encouraged to ſettle here!

VII. As the Rent of Lands depends on the Numbers of People, (for Land is quite uſeleſs without a Market for its Produce) ſo the Introduction of Foreigners is a ſure Means of creating a Demand for all the Produce of a Landed Eſtate;—and conſequently of raiſing the Value and Price of Land. Whereas at preſent, for want of a ſufficient Conſumption at home, we are obliged to ſend great Quantities of Corn abroad, and to levy a Tax upon ourſelves to promote the Exportation of it to our Rivals. Thus they are fed cheaper than our own Manufacturers; and the greater the Years of Plenty, the higher is the Tax which we pay to foreign Countries.—Now if the People, who conſume this Corn abroad, were tranſplanted into *England*, we ſhould not only ſave this Expence, but likewiſe imploy a prodigious Number of Hands in manufacturing the ſaid Corn into Bread, at the ſame Time that we ſhould reap the Benefit of additional Labour and Induſtry, Strength and Riches, in every other Inſtance.

VIII. The ſame Benefits muſt accrue to the Nation from the Admiſſion of Foreigners, as would follow by the Increaſe of our own People in the Way of Marriage:—with this advantageous Circumſtance, that Foreigners *immediately inrich* a State by their Induſtry, Commerce and Manufactures, which our natural-born Infants cannot do, but muſt remain a dead Weight upon the Community, till they are grown up, and actually imployed in ſome uſeful Calling. Now this Conſideration alone hath determined the Polity of *France*, not only to put the Foreigners on the *ſame Footing* with the natural-born Subjects,

jects, but alſo to grant them (particularly the *Swiſs*) ſuperior Privileges, in order to allure the greater Numbers into the Kingdom.

IX. THE Genius of the *Engliſh* Nation particularly requires, that it ſhould be *piqued* by the Example of induſtrious, ſkilful, and deſerving Foreigners. Tell an *Engliſhman*, That it is a Shame for him to be excelled by a *Frenchman*,—that he ought to keep up the Glory of his Country, and not ſuffer himſelf to be out-done by a Foreigner; and this will have as great, perhaps a greater Effect to quicken his Induſtry, and mend his Morals, as any Conſideration whatever.

X. As the Country is *already* open, not only to *Beggars*, were they diſpoſed to come, but alſo to *Singers*, *Fidlers*, *Strollers*, *Dancers*, *Tumblers*, &c. &c. of every Climate and Religion, for the bringing over of whom *large Subſcriptions are yearly made*,—one would think, there could be no great harm in going *one Step* farther, *viz.* To give a *Parliamentary* Invitation to the induſtrious and wealthy *Merchant*, to the ingenious and frugal *Mechanic*, and the oppreſſed and perſecuted *Proteſtant*: For if Numbers of theſe were introduced among us, their Examples and Behaviour might, in ſome degree, counter-act the Corruption, Idleneſs, and Debauchery occaſioned by the others.

XI. WHEN *Engliſh Proteſtants* expreſs any kind of *backwardneſs* to receive perſecuted and diſtreſſed *Proteſtants* of *other* Countries, they act in direct Oppoſition to the Spirit and Intention of their own Religion, and commence *Papiſts* in that particular Part of *Popery*, which is moſt injurious to the Chriſtian Religion, diſhonourable to human Nature, and detrimental to Society.

BUT as it is our *Duty*, ſo it is our Intereſt to *naturalize* the Virtuous and Induſtrious of every Nation, and to make them one People with ourſelves. For Numbers of Inhabitants are the Strength, Riches, and Security, nay the *Beauty* of a Country:—Whereas the Depopulation of a Territory is not only its Ruin, but its *Deformity*.

THUS far I have proceeded in the *argumentative* Way, proving from the cleareſt Principles of Religion, Reaſon, and National Welfare, the great Expediency of a Bill for a general Naturalization. But alas! this harmleſs Word has by Art and Induſtry been made ſuch a *Bugbear*, that the very Sound of it carries Dread and Terror, and, like a dark Night to a timorous Perſon, is full of

Gorgons, fierce Hydras, and Chimeras dire!

THEREFORE all that can be done at preſent, is to ſubſtitute ſuch a Polity, as may anſwer the chief Ends of a general Naturalization, without naming that odious Word.— And this may be done two Ways; *firſt* by appriſing Foreigners of the true Nature and Genius of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, as far as relates to this Affair; and *ſecondly*, by enacting ſuch Laws as ſhall remove all the Difficulties which Foreigners now labour under, without naturalizing them.

I. THEREFORE, The principal Thing to be done, is to apprize the Inhabitants of Foreign Countries of the Genius of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution. For the governing Powers abroad take great Pains to conceal from their Subjects the true State of this Affair; And they ſo well underſtand the vaſt Advantages of having their Territories well peopled, that *Art* and *Power* are both made uſe of to prevent their Subjects from leaving their Native Country.—Yet ſuch is our Infatuation, that we cannot ſee, that what is a *Loſs* to our Rivals, is a *double Gain* to us! However, hence it is, that the Bulk of the People in *France* and other Countries, are made to believe every Time the Naturalization Bill is rejected, That the *Britiſh* Parliament have *refuſed* to admit Foreigners into their Kingdom. And indeed it is natural for other Nations to conclude, That this Bill, concerning which ſuch a *mighty Clamour* hath been raiſed, muſt convey ſome *extraordinary* Privilege, without which the Reſidence of Strangers in *England* would be either *uncomfortable*, or *dangerous:* Whereas, in fact, this is a grand Miſtake; and the Privileges conveyed by Naturalization are ſo *trifling*, that not one Foreigner in a thouſand would be benefited by them. This may appear ſtrange to many Perſons; But it is not more ſtrange than true: For when a Foreigner arrives in *England*, he is as much *naturalized* by his perſonal Reſidence, and enjoys as *full Privileges*, as an Act of Parliament itſelf could give him,—excepting in the four followings Particulars.

1. HE cannot poſſeſs Eſtates in *Fee*, unleſs the King grants Leave.
2. HE cannot merchandiſe without paying Alien Duty.
3. HE cannot obtain the Freedom of the *Turky*, and one or two more excluſive Companies.
4. HE cannot be imployed when he goes abroad, as Factor for the *Engliſh* in *Ruſſia*, or in our Plantations, and a few other Places.

AS to the *firſt* of theſe, very few Foreigners would chuſe to buy Lands at all, becauſe their principal Stock is imployed to better Advantage in Trade; and if they have Children born in *Great Britain*,

or

or *any* of its Dominions, ſuch Iſſue are in *every reſpect*, upon an equal Footing with the original Natives. But ſuppoſe a Foreigner ſhould be inclined to make a Landed Purchaſe; Suppoſe he wants, for Example, an Houſe to *dwell* in, being willing to continue his Riches in the Country where he got them, or perhaps to bring over his paternal Fortunes in order to enjoy them in this Kingdom of Liberty, (which Circumſtance, by the by, ought not to be the *Motive* for us to *quarrel* with him) I ſay, ſuch a Purchaſe is *valid in Law againſt all the Subjects of the Kingdom*:—Indeed the King himſelf could take it from him; but there is not any Probability that he ever would; nay, thoſe very Perſons who have exclaimed the moſt vehemently againſt the Naturalization Bill, would be the loudeſt in their Exclamations againſt ſuch an Exertion of the Royal Prerogative. But what is much more to the preſent Purpoſe is, That the Foreigner himſelf can prevent this oppreſſive Uſe of the Prerogative ſeveral Ways; as (1.) By obtaining a private Bill of Naturalization. (2.) By Letters of Denization from the Crown. (3.) By making the intended Purchaſe in the Name of a Native, with a Declaration of Truſt;—a frequent Practice with the *Roman* Catholics, in order to avoid the Payment of double Taxes. (4.) By contracting for ſuch Eſtates as are deemed *Chattels* by the Common Law, and not *Freeholds*, of which kind of Tenures there are many thouſands in the Kingdom, and more might be made at pleaſure.

But as this latter Article ſeems to require ſome farther Explication, I ſhall therefore obſerve, That by the antient Common Law of the Realm, all *Lay* Eſtates or *Lay* Fees were ſuppoſed to be held of the Crown (either directly or indirectly) by ſome kind of *Military* Service. Therefore if a Foreigner ſhould buy a landed Eſtate, he muſt become the King's *liege Man*, that is, do *Military* Service for that Eſtate. But in former Times, when the Kingdom was in perpetual Wars, and Eſtates in Land the only *conſiderable* Property;—alſo when the Poſſeſſors of ſuch Eſtates were the *Military* Tenants, or Standing Armies, of their Prince, it lay at the *Option* of the King, whether he would admit a Foreigner to be his Military Tenant, or not: So that the Reaſon or Grounds of the Diſtinction made between a Native and a Foreigner, aroſe from the Idea of the *Unfitneſs* of the latter to be the *King's Soldier*;—that Circumſtance being the only Thing attended to in thoſe gothic and barbarous Times. This farther appears by reflecting, That in all Caſes where no Military Service was demanded, the Diſtinction between Foreigner and Native ceaſed of Courſe: of which take the following Inſtances for Proofs;—Before the Introduction of

Commerce, Goods and Chattels were ſuch inconſiderable Things, that no Military Service was ever demanded for them; and conſequently a Foreigner could poſſeſs them equally with a Native. The ſame Obſervation holds in regard to Landed Eſtates of *Baſe Tenure*; for theſe are deemed *Chattels* in the Eye of the Law, becauſe the *Fee* of them is ſuppoſed to reſide in ſome other Perſon, who, by being the Lord of the Manor, is legally the King's Soldier, or his Military Tenant. Wherefore the Vaſſals, Villains, or Under-Tenants, being exempt from this gothic Military Service, may be of any Country or Climate whatever.

THE *ſecond* Thing to be conſidered, is the Burden of *Alien* Duty. This indeed is laid upon the Foreign Merchant with all the Art and Skill that Monopolizers could deviſe; a Race of Men who are ever ſetting up their own private Intereſt againſt that of the Public, and always raiſing a canting Cry (when any Attempts are made to free the Nation from theſe Oppreſſions) That Trade is in danger;—meaning thereby, that their own deſtructive Trade, their Monopoly is in danger; for they have a Regard for nothing elſe. But nevertheleſs Time has ſhewn, That the Monopoliſts have been defeated at their own Weapons; for though the City of *London* got the Laws to be paſſed for laying an Alien Duty upon the Goods of Foreigners, yet the Citizens themſelves were the firſt in ſhewing the Way to elude it by covering ſuch Goods under their own Names; ſo that at preſent this Inconvenience is very little felt. For when a Citizen once begun ſuch a Practice, all the reſt were obliged to do the ſame, leſt he ſhould ingroſs the Cuſtom of Foreigners to himſelf: And at this Day the Uſage is become ſo univerſal, that if one Citizen ſhould refuſe, hundreds would gladly do it.—Thus far therefore a Naturalization Bill is not abſolutely neceſſary, though it may be expedient:——And indeed it is particularly expedient in a moral and religious View, in order to prevent numberleſs Lies and Perjuries.—Thoſe who would know more on this Subject, muſt conſult the Tenor of the Oaths taken by Citizens and Burgeſſes throughout the Kingdom.

As to the *third* Article, *viz.* The Freedom of the *Turky*, the *Ruſſia* and the *Hudſon's-Bay* Company, the Want of the Power of obtaining theſe Freedoms is certainly a great Diſadvantge to Foreign Merchants, and conſequently to the Commerce of the Nation; inaſmuch as their very Situation in Life, their large Correſpondencies, and enterpriſing Genius, particularly qualify them for ingaging in theſe Branches of Trade: by which

which means vaſt Quantities of our own Manufactures might be exported, and raw Materials imported.

THE *fourth* Reſtraint upon Foreigners relates to the Affair of Factorage in *Turky*, in our own Plantations, and a few other Places.—But as to our own Plantations, it is one of thoſe Laws which is too abſurd to be executed: For the People of *America* will naturally imploy thoſe Factors (notwithſtanding our Acts of Parliament) who uſe them beſt, whether they are *Engliſh* or Foreigners. Beſides, a Foreigner is naturalized of Courſe, if he reſides ſeven Years in any of our Plantations. So that upon the whole, the Diſadvantage in this Reſpect is very inconſiderable, and can affect but very few Foreigners; nor is it to be ſet in Counterbalance to the ineſtimable Privileges which Foreigners may enjoy in all other Inſtances, Religious, Civil, and Commercial.

AND thus having given a general State of the Caſe, we ſee at one View, That a Naturalization Bill is not ſo much wanted as the World may imagine, for the Admiſſion of Foreigners; becauſe ſuch a Bill is rather to be conſidered in the Light of a National Advertiſement to be publiſhed in foreign Countries, than as conveying any important or ſubſtantial Privileges. In a Word, were Foreigners properly acquainted with the Nature of our *Engliſh* Conſtitution, there would be little need of a general Naturalization Bill.

WHEREFORE the Propoſal to be made on this Head is briefly this,—That the Lords of Trade, or any others in the Adminiſtration, ſhould cauſe a few Paragraphs to be drawn up explanatory of this Affair, and get them inſerted regularly three or four Times in the Year in all thoſe Foreign Gazettes which are circulated among the Commercial and Manufacturing People of the Northern and Southern Parts of *Europe*.—Thus far as to the appriſing Foreigners of the Nature and Genius of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution.

II. THE ſecond Thing to be done is, To enact ſuch Laws as ſhall remove all the Difficulties which Foreigners now labour under, without naming the *ſcare-crow* Word *Naturalization*.

THUS, for Example, a Law might be made, or a Clauſe inſerted in the Body of any other Act, to abridge the Crown of the gothic Prerogative of taking away a Foreigner's Landed Eſtate, and to cauſe ſuch Eſtate to deſcend regularly among his Children, according to the Nature of other Deſcents. Such a Law would eaſily paſs for Reaſons that are very obvious:—Nor would it be in the Power of any pretended Patriots to raiſe a Clamor againſt it. A Statute, intitled, *An Act to abridge*

abridge or limit the Prerogative of the Crown in certain Caſes, carries the Air of Popularity, and would be received with Greedineſs. Nay, ſuch is the Force of a proper Title, that if the late *Jew* Bill itſelf had been called, *A Bill to prevent the Jews from profaning the Chriſtian Sacraments*, (which was the real Tendency of the Bill) inſtead of,—*A Bill to enable the Parliament to naturalize Foreign Jews*, all would have been well; and the Zeal for *Old England!* and Chriſtianity for ever! would have ſtill been aſleep.

ANOTHER Law might be paſſed, whoſe Title ſhould be, *An Act for incouraging the Exportation of Engliſh Manufactures, and the Importation of raw Materials.* And one ſingle Clauſe in this Law might be ſufficient to repeal all kinds of Alien Duty.

A *third* might be added with a popular Title, *For the Incouragement of Shipping and Navigation:* And therein it might be ſpecified, That all Perſons reſiding in *Great Britain* or any Part of its Dominions, ſhall be permitted to make themſelves free of any of our excluſive Companies.

A *fourth* might be ſtiled, *An Act for impowering all Britiſh Merchants to imploy ſuch Agents or Factors as they ſhall judge moſt conducive for carrying on their Affairs in Foreign Parts.*

Now theſe four Clauſes (whether in ſeparate Statutes or in one general Law, it matters not) comprehend every Power or Privilege which a Naturalization Bill itſelf can give. And yet not one of ſuch Laws, *if they have proper Titles*, is capable of being made an Engine for raiſing popular Clamours, or ſerving the Ends of *Electioneering* Patriots. It is therefore humbly apprehended, That theſe four Clauſes, joined to the Propoſal before mentioned for iſſuing public Advertiſements from the Board of Trade, would induce as many ſober, religious, and induſtrious Foreigners to fly from the Tyranny of their reſpective Governments, and to ſtrengthen and inrich this Country, as the moſt extenſive Naturalization Bill whatever. Indeed it cannot be expected, that Foreigners would come over in Swarms to devour the Land, like the *Egyptian* Locuſts; to whom they have been ſo often compared:—Neither would they have done ſo, whatever the Ignorant may fear, or the Deſigning pretend, though the Parliament was to give them a thouſand Invitations. For all Mankind are fond of their native Soil, and have ſtrong Attachments to the Manners and Cuſtoms, the Air and Situation of the Places of their Birth and Education. This we ſee viſibly enough here at home in the little Conteſts between the Inhabitants of one Pariſh, Hundred, or County, and thoſe of another; each pretend-

pretending, that the Spot of their Nativity vaſtly excels the other, tho' both are under the ſame Government, partaking of the ſame Laws, Religion, and Climate, and no otherwiſe ſeparated than by an Hedge, a River, a Moor, or a Mountain. Nor ought it to be omitted, That though an *Engliſhman* may fancy his own Country the fineſt under the Sun, the Glory and Garden of the Univerſe, an unprejudiced Spectator will not ſee it with the ſame Eyes: And therefore a Foreigner is not ſo ſtrongly tempted, as we may imagine, to break through the dear Connections of Family and Relation, and to ſacrifice his Intereſts, Friendſhips, and Pleaſures, merely to come and reſide in a Country, which, though a good one, is deſtitute of many real Beauties and Advantages which other Countries plentifully enjoy.

HOWEVER, though there is no manner of Reaſon for apprehending, That Foreigners will overwhelm us like a Torrent that hath broke its Banks; yet there are good Hopes, that many of the Religious and Induſtrious, the Frugal or the Wealthy, the Lovers of juſt Liberty, and of Courſe the beſt Friends to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, will flow in upon us from various Climes, like a conſtant, though gentle Stream, always uſeful, always agreeable, inriching the Country with a continual Verdure, and cauſing no Waſte or Deſolation.

CHAP. III.

Other Polities for increaſing the Number of People.

THOUGH the Polities for promoting Marriage, and inviting Foreigners are the more immediate Ways of increaſing the Number of People, yet all other Polities which tend to imploy Mankind in uſeful Labour, and to preſerve and improve their Morals, are greatly ſubſervient to the ſame good End.

A SET of Polities, for Example, which promote Induſtry and diſcourage Vice, hath the ſame (nay indeed a much better) Effect in its Operations, as a Sum of Money given by way of Portion to incourage Marriage. For it puts Mankind into a Capacity of increaſing their Species, without bringing Miſery on themſelves, or intailing it on their Poſterity; and by opening new Sources of Wealth and Proſperity, it incourages them to ingage in the Marriage State with a good Proſpect of ſupporting their Families with Credit and Comfort. When Idleneſs

is

is removed, Poverty is removed likewiſe; and when Induſtry is properly and generally excited, Numbers of Hands will of Courſe be *wanted*; ſo that a Stock of Children may be ſo far from being a Burden in certain Circumſtances, that they may very literally and truly become the Wealth and Riches of the Parents. Now the Polities which ſeem beſt calculated to anſwer theſe good Ends will be ſet forth at large in PART II. wherein the Methods of employing Mankind, and for preſerving a laſting and extenſive Commerce, will be particularly treated of.

AGAIN, All thoſe Polities which tend to promote good Morals, have an immediate Influence on the Increaſe and Preſervation of the human Species: For good Morals are not only an Antidote againſt the ſpreading of Diſeaſes, and the Deſtruction of Lives through Intemperance and Exceſs; they not only prevent the *barren* and *unfruitful* Vices of Lewdneſs and Debauchery, but alſo teach Mankind, That the natural Deſires of the Sexes towards each other may, and ought to be gratified by lawful Marriage. — And the married State, as hath been proved already, is the only efficacious Method of increaſing the Numbers of Mankind, and rendering a Country truly populous:—But the Influence of good Morals will appear ſtill in a ſtronger Light, when we come to PART III. wherein the Polities for the Preſervation and Improvement of them are to be diſtinctly conſidered and recommended.

THESE Hints therefore may ſuffice at preſent as to thoſe Polities which are yet for to come:—On the other Hand it may be juſt proper to take Notice, That the Polities already inlarged upon in the two foregoing Chapters concerning Marriage and Naturalization, will be found equally ſubſervient to the good Purpoſes of Induſtry and Moral Virtue. For the ſeveral Parts of the great Commercial Syſtem do indeed mutually ſupport and ſtrengthen each other; inaſmuch as populouſneſs hath a natural Tendency to promote Induſtry and good Morals,—and theſe in their Turn as naturally create Populouſneſs.

PART II.

Containing certain Polities for the Extenſion and Improvement of Commerce.

NATIONAL and extenſive Commerce is only another Name for the right and uſeful Imployment of the Individuals: And this Imployment is derived either from the *natural*, or the *artificial* Wants of Mankind. The *natural* Wants, as hath been obſerved before, are ſuch as belong to Man in common with other Animals: But the *artificial* are peculiar to him as a rational Agent, and a Member of Civil Society:—Though indeed in another Senſe theſe very artificial Wants may be ſtiled natural, becauſe they ariſe from the *peculiar Nature* of Man as diſtinguiſhed from other Creatures. But this being a leſs intelligible Way of ſpeaking, it would be better to keep to the former Diviſion of Wants, into *natural*, and *artificial*. If therefore a Man is *poor*, he is ſcarce able to purchaſe or ſupply himſelf with any thing beyond the *bare* Neceſſaries of Life; ſo that his Condition will approach the nearer to the *Brutal* State, which admits of no Commerce at all: But if he is *rich*, he need not deny himſelf the Injoyment of many things both uſeful and convenient. By which means it comes to paſs, That ſeveral other Perſons, beſides himſelf, may be imployed in making or procuring them. Now if this is the Caſe, it plainly follows, That the Support and Extenſion of Commerce muſt reſult from the Multiplication of the *artificial* Needs of Mankind.

BUT as this Syſtem of *Commercial Induſtry* is equally the Plan of Providence with the Syſtem of *Morals*, we may reſt aſſured, That both are conſiſtent with each other: And therefore, for the preſent, let us take it for granted, that they are ſo;—deferring the Proof till we come to PART III. which is to treat particularly on this Subject: And then it will be fully ſhewn, That theſe artificial Needs muſt be under the Direction of *good Morals*, before they can produce that *beneficial*, *perpetual*, and *extenſive* Commerce, which Providence intended by them.

LEAVING therefore this Subject till a future Occaſion, let us now obſerve, That all Commercial Imployment may be divided into two kinds, *Huſbandry*, and *Manufacture*; the immediate Object of the one

being to provide *Food*, and that of the other to procure *Raiment*, and *Dwelling*: And from the CONCURRENCE *of theſe three* every other Trade, Calling, or Profeſſion derives its Origin and Support. If therefore this is the Caſe, how wrong muſt have been that Syſtem of Politics, which endeavoured to ſet Huſbandry, and Manufactures at perpetual Variance? How baſe and diſingenuous to ſtir up Jealouſies between them, and to repreſent the one an Enemy to the other? For in Fact the *Landed*, and the *Trading* Intereſts are only the different Markets for each other's Produce, the one being the reſpective *Maker*, and the other the *Conſumer*. And conſequently, the real Exaltation, or Depreſſion of either, muſt really exalt, or depreſs them both.

INDEED, if by the *Landed* Intereſt is to be underſtood the Intereſt of the Gothic Barons (as it formerly ſubſiſted here in *England)* or the Intereſt of the Lairds of Clans in *Scotland*,—between *that* Intereſt and the Commercial there ever was, and ever will be a ſtrong Oppoſition. For the Power and Importance of theſe *petty Tyrants* over their Slaves or Vaſſals, can be no otherwiſe preſerved, than by chaining down the Maſs of the People in Slavery and Want. It is therefore their Intereſt to depreſs Commerce; becauſe every Increaſe of Property in the lower and middling Claſs of People tends to render them more free and independent;—and perhaps at laſt more conſiderable than their former Superiors. In ſhort, the poorer the Inhabitants of a Country, the greater by *Compariſon* is the Baron, the Laird of the Clan, or the Landed Squire. Granting therefore that the Eſtates of ſuch *Old Engliſh Gentry*, who value themſelves on the Antiquity of their Houſes, would be bettered by the Introduction of Trade and Manufactures, and that they themſelves would enjoy more of the Conveniencies, Elegancies, and Ornaments of Life, than they otherwiſe could do;—yet as their *Inferiors* by Birth might ſometimes equal, and perhaps ſurpaſs them in theſe Injoyments, the *Country Gentlemen* are ſtrongly tempted to regret this Diminution of their former Importance, and the Eclipſing of their antient Grandeur by the Wealth of theſe *Upſtarts*.

BUT then, if the Syſtems of Baronage and Commerce do thus neceſſarily claſh, it is likewiſe as true, That Baronage is as great an Impediment to Improvements in Agriculture and good Huſbandry. For a Baron, or any other landed Gentleman, acting upon the old Baron Principles, cuts himſelf off from making any conſiderable Improvements on his Eſtates, both on Account of his Enmity to Manufactures, and his Tyranny over his Vaſſal Tenants. As he is an Enemy to Manufactures and that *independent* Spirit which Trade neceſſarily introduces,

he

he prevents, as much as in him lies, the having a Market for the Produce of his Eſtate. And as he eſteems it inconſiſtent with his own Greatneſs and the Dignity of his Houſe to give his Vaſſals a Taſte for Liberty, conſequently he takes away every Spur to Induſtry, and chains them down in Sloth, Ignorance, and Poverty. In a Word, a Gothic Baron in the Landed Intereſt is juſt the ſame kind of Monſter as an *Excluſive* Company in the Commercial: They are both *Monopoliſts* in their ſeveral Ways; and their chief Wealth conſiſts rather in preventing others from acquiring Wealth, than in being rich themſelves: They are indeed *comparatively* great, becauſe they render their Neighbours and Dependents *extremely* poor and miſerable.

BUT to return;—If the true Intereſts of Agriculture and Manufactures are inſeparably united, nay are indeed the ſame, we may therefore now conſider them under the ſame View: Agriculture, for inſtance, is nothing elſe but a diſtinct Species of Manufacture, in relation to which the Ground or Soil is properly the *raw Material*, and the Land-Owner or Farmer is the *head* Manufacturer. This being the Caſe, it muſt neceſſarily follow, That every *general* Principle of Commerce, which tends to eſtabliſh and promote other Manufactures, muſt likewiſe be productive of good Effects in Huſbandry. And therefore our next concern is to make a ſuitable Application.

CHAP. I.

Certain Polities for incouraging and improving Husbandry.

IT is not the Deſign of this Chapter to ſet forth the Rules of Agriculture, or to give Directions for the incloſing, planting, tilling, watering, draining, or manuring of Lands: No; all theſe are to be learned from other Books;—But the proper Deſign of this Chapter is to ſhew, That the *univerſal* Mover in human Nature, SELF-LOVE, may receive ſuch a Direction in this Caſe (as in all others) as to promote the Public Intereſt by thoſe Efforts it ſhall make towards purſuing its own. And when this comes to be the State of Affairs, we may venture to foretel, from the neceſſary Connection between Cauſes and Effects, That the Science of Agriculture and Huſbandry will be ſtudied with more Care and Attention, and a ſwifter Progreſs will be made in the Arts of improving Eſtates, than have ever yet been known in theſe Parts of the World.

SECTION I.

A Polity for dividing large Eſtates.

WHEN this Kingdom was ſubject to the Gothic Baronage, it became a neceſſary Part of that Conſtitution, to transfer the whole Landed Eſtate, after the Death of the Father, to the eldeſt Son, without taking any Notice of the reſt of the Children. For all Lay Eſtates being then *military Fees*, the Lords or Poſſeſſors thereof were bound by the Conditions of their Tenure, to arm their Vaſſals and Dependents, and to bring them into the Field when the King required. In ſuch a Situation it is eaſy to ſee, That the Landlords of thoſe Days were veſted with a much greater Sway over their Tenants, in order to have them always at Command, than Landlords have at preſent. And ſuch Powers muſt be annexed only to great Eſtates, otherwiſe they would become an uſeleſs and ridiculous Farce. For a Landlord would make but a burleſque Figure in the Day of Battle, acting as a Colonel, or heading a Battalion of half a dozen, or a dozen Tenants. The eldeſt Son therefore being naturally regarded as the Repreſentative of the Family, and the next in Command over his Father's Tenants, ſucceeded of Courſe to the whole Landed Patrimony, in order to keep the Command intire.

THE Cuſtom being thus originally founded in the Neceſſity or Convenience of the Times, was preſently ſeconded by human Pride. For the Views of Ambition were gratified by this Diſplay of Military Proweſs: And as each Gentleman became more formidable and dangerous to his Neighbours in proportion to the Numbers he could raiſe of theſe ragged Dependents, it became a neceſſary Part of Self-Defence to inveſt the Lands of the Realm in ſuch Hands as might be able to protect both themſelves and others from Aſſaults. Add to this, that the Motives of vain Glory in keeping up the Name of the Family, and ſupporting the Grandeur of the antient Houſe, ſtrong Motives at all times! were particularly prevalent at that Juncture.

BUT after the Abolition of the Gothic Baronage, and the Introduction of Induſtry and Manufactures, one might have expected, That our Laws and Cuſtoms would have received ſome Alteration in Conformity to this great Change. Yet ſo it is, That though the Gothic Vaſſalage is ended, the Baron-Scheme in many Inſtances ſtill remains. For Eſtates are ſtill permitted to be *intailed* on Heirs Male, to the Excluſion

Excluſion of all the *nearer* Relations that are Females: And if a Perſon dies *inteſtate*, the Common Law at this Day gives the whole Landed Eſtate to the eldeſt Son, without making any Proviſion for the reſt. Now this Abſurdity becomes the more glaring, inaſmuch as this ſame Common Law divides all the Perſonals, be they ever ſo great, equally among the Children.—But in Truth, we muſt repeat an Obſervation made ſeveral Times before, *viz.* That the Amount of Perſonals, before the Introduction of Commerce, was ſo very inſignificant, as to cauſe little Difference how they were divided. Whereas in our Times, the Amount of theſe Things in Trade, Caſh, Mortgages, the Funds, Plate, Houſhold Goods, *&c. &c.* is prodigious and immenſe. Either therefore the former Practice, which gives all to the Eldeſt, or this latter which makes no Diſtinction between the Firſt-born and the Younger, muſt be intirely unjuſtifiable upon the preſent Footing of Things, and repugnant to Common Senſe and Equity.

But indeed, the moſt uſeful Meaſure of any for the Public, and perhaps the moſt equitable regarding Individuals, would be to ſteer a middle Courſe between theſe two Extremes.

Suppose therefore, That the Law relating to *Perſonals* ſhould remain as it is, but the other regarding *Landed Eſtates* ſhould be made more conformable to Commercial Ideas by the following Regulation; *viz.* That the Landed Eſtates of *Inteſtates* ſhould be divided, one half to the eldeſt Son, or (in Caſe of no Iſſue) to the Heir at Law, and the other half to the reſt of the Children, or to the Relations of equally near Kin with the Heir at Law;—in which Number the Eldeſt, or the Heir at Law ſhould be always reckoned as *one*, and come in for a Share accordingly.

Now in Conſequence of this Regulation the Eldeſt would always enjoy a Sufficiency to diſtinguiſh him from others, and yet the reſt of the Children not be left deſtitute. For his Proportion, by means of having one half clear to himſelf, and a Child's Share in the Remainder, would always keep Pace with the Number of Children; ſo that the *comparative* Dignity of the Family would be decently preſerved, and the Manſion Houſe might ſtill remain in the Poſſeſſion of the eldeſt Branch. As to the Cadets, or younger Children of great Families, they would be rendered much more happy in themſelves, and uſeful to the Community, by receiving a Share in the Paternal Eſtate, than they could poſſibly be, when they lay at the Mercy of their elder Brother, and were too high born to take to mechanic Labour, too poor to ingage in a creditable Branch of Trade, and had no Eſtates of their own

to

to exerciſe their Genius upon. Such a Situation hath rendered many Perſons, of valuable natural Qualifications, both miſerable in themſelves, and the Peſts of Society, or at beſt but an uſeleſs Race of Mortals, humouroufly and yet movingly deſcribed in *The Spectator* under the Character of *Will Wimbles.*

But the peculiar Advantage of ſuch a Polity appears from hence, That moſt of the great *unweildy* Eſtates throughout the Kingdom would undergo ſuch Diſmembrings, in a Courſe of Years, as would ſerve to raiſe up a reſpectable Number of new, independent Families, poſſeſſing from one hundred, to one thouſand Pounds a Year:—That is, though the Lands were not worth, or not rented for near ſo much, when only Branches of the great Eſtate, yet they would be ſoon raiſed to a ſuperior Value, when parted from it. For it is a moſt undoubted Fact, that if you ſhould ſever nine thouſand Acres from an Eſtate of twenty thouſand (that is, portion out nine Children, Male or Female, with one thouſand Acres each, and reſerve eleven thouſand Acres for the eldeſt Son, or the Heir at Law) each of theſe Freeholds of a thouſand Acres, *generally* ſpeaking, would ſoon be made to produce above double the Quantity of Graſs, Hay, Corn, Flax, Hemp, Timber, and other Materials, and to rear and feed a much greater Stock of Sheep, Horſes, and Cattle, than it ever did, when only a Part of one great Monopoly, and let out on a Leaſe, or Rack Rent. Moreover, the Effects of ſuch a Regulation would induce the eldeſt Sons, or the Repreſentatives of great Families, to ſtudy Frugality and Oeconomy more than they do at preſent, and to ſtrive to improve their Shares of the Paternal Eſtate, ſo as to raiſe them to be equal in Value to what the former was before the Diviſion. And indeed a proper Attention to the Principles of National Commerce and good Huſbandry, would hardly fail of Succeſs: For it is with Landed Eſtates as with Kingdoms, where a little Territory rendered rich by Induſtry, and populous by Numbers, is infinitely more valuable and powerful than immenſe Regions, where Poverty and Deſolation univerſally prevail. And in Fact, what other Reaſon can you aſſign, but the Neighbourhood of the Market of *London*, why the Lands of *Hertfordſhire*, naturally very poor in themſelves, ſhould be at leaſt an hundred Times more valuable than the rich and fertile Plains of *Hungary?* And what is true in a greater Inſtance, holds likewiſe true in a ſmaller. If therefore the eldeſt Branch of an antient Family can raiſe a Market for the Produce of his Lands, as Mr *Charwell* is repreſented to do in the ninth *Guardian*, he will ſoon make Amends for any Diſmembrings of the Eſtate, and raiſe the

the Value of one Acre to be worth four times as much as it was in his Grandfather's Time.

As to the Caſe of ſmall Landed Eſtates, which will not bear a minute Diviſion, theſe will naturally devolve to the eldeſt Son; becauſe it will be both his Intereſt, and that of the reſt of the Family, to preſerve the Eſtate intire: For the Land will not be ſo valuable, when ſubdivided into *trifling* Parcels, as when kept together: And therefore his only Courſe will be either to marry a Woman with a ſuitable Fortune in ready Money, or to borrow a Sum ſufficient for paying off the Demands of the younger Children: And either of theſe Conſequences would have no bad Effect upon the Commerce of the Public, or the Morals of the Individuals.

Thus far as to the Effects of the Polity here propoſed;—A Polity, it muſt be owned, not very extenſive, if conſidered ſimply in itſelf, but greatly ſo, when viewed in all its Conſequences. For though this Regulation pretends to no more than to diſpoſe of the Eſtates of Perſons who die *inteſtate*, yet the Influence of ſuch a Law would operate in Multitudes of Caſes by way of *Pattern* and *Example:* And though Mankind would be left at perfect Liberty to make what Marriage Settlements, Deeds of Gift, or Wills they pleaſed; yet they would naturally conſider, That they could not do better, than to follow that equitable Rule, which the Wiſdom of their Country hath recommended to them.—Nay indeed it is very probable, That many Perſons would *chooſe* to die inteſtate, becauſe they could not propoſe to make a wiſer Diſpoſal of their Effects, than the Legiſlature hath done ready to their Hands.

SECTION II.

A Polity for incloſing Commons and Common Fields.

THE Notion of having Lands in common, is to be derived from the Barbarian or Scythian Way of Life, when Men were Strangers to any higher Occupation than that of Shepherds or Hunters. Nay, in thoſe Countries where the People ſtill remain Savages, their Lands lie all in common to this Day. But if the Origin of this Cuſtom is to be traced ſo far back, it is natural to aſk, Why did not the Cuſtom ceaſe, when the Inhabitants of this Iſland became more civilized, and were better inſtructed in the Principles of Induſtry and Property?—To which I anſwer, That old Cuſtoms will frequently remain (as we find

find by ſad Experience) long after the original Cauſe of them hath been taken away. And this Prejudice for old Cuſtoms ſticks the cloſer, if the *Self-Love* of any of the Individuals in a Society is made to believe, That their own private Intereſt is concerned to ſupport ſuch a Cuſtom.

Now, it is to be obſerved, That when the Barons parcelled out their vaſt Manors among their Dependents and Followers, theſe latter, together with their Under-tenants, Slaves, or Villains, were not many Removes from a Savage State: That is, tho' the Knights and Squires were Men of ſome Property in Lands, and conſiderable by Birth, yet they lived a lazy, ſauntering Life when in Peace, deſtitute of every Ornament and Convenience, and when at War had little to loſe beſides the bare Walls of their Caſtles, and their Military Glory. Indeed it is hardly conceivable, That the Life of a Soldier ſhould be ſpent in the Cultivation of Lands, and good Huſbandry: And in thoſe Times every Man was either a Soldier by Profeſſion, or a Slave in Condition. Now Slavery, as hath been remarked before, is of all Conditions the moſt oppoſite to Induſtry and Improvement. Therefore it is very evident, That though the Bulk of the Nation were not abſolute Savages, yet they made nearer Approaches to that State of Life, than many Perſons who ſeem to boaſt of the Glory of *Old England* are willing to acknowledge. In ſhort, when there was no Induſtry, no Commerce, and no Markets, Lands were worth little: And therefore it was no Loſs to the Baron, and ſeemed to be ſome kind of Favour granted to the Vaſſals and Tenants, to ſet out a Diſtrict of ten, fifteen, or twenty Miles ſquare, for Hunting Grounds, and common Herbage. Nay, if the Lands had been divided into equal Shares of five hundred Acres apiece throughout the Kingdom, it is much to be queſtioned, whether there were Families enough, free or villain, to have ſettled in half of them: Conſequently the other Moiety muſt have ſtill remained in the Hands of the Baron, or great Landlord, *untenanted* and *unoccupied*, which therefore at ſuch a Juncture, would ſoon have been regarded as *open* or *common* Grounds. And what was thus true in regard to the Manors of the Barons, was equally true in reſpect to thoſe immenſe Domains which formerly belonged to the Crown:—Not to mention, That our former Race of Kings kept prodigious Tracts of Ground in almoſt every County in the Kingdom waſte and deſolate, under the Name of *Chaces* and *Forcſts*, for the Diverſion of Hunting and Hawking.

The Tenants therefore and Vaſſals having thus a Liberty of Common, tranſmitted the ſame to their Succeſſors, and ſo downwards to the

the preſent Times. And therefore we call things by the ſame Names at this Day, though the whole Nature of the Conſtitution is perfectly changed:—Nay we pretend to find out Reaſons, why theſe Commons ſhould ſtill continue in their original State of Deſolation, (ſo ingenious is deluded Self-Love) though there is not one Reaſon now remaining for their Continuance.

I. THEREFORE it is objected, "That if we break up our Com-"mons, our Sheep-Walks will be deſtroyed."—Now this Objection takes for granted, That if our Commons were incloſed, they would become Arable Land;—or at leaſt would not be applied to the Purpoſes of rearing and feeding Sheep. But ſurely this is ſuppoſing a great deal too much, without proving any thing: For though it is probable, That two or three Corps of Corn would be ſown in the freſh Grounds, upon their firſt Incloſure, yet it is as probable, That each Field in its turn, would afterwards be laid down in Graſs, Clover, Cinque-Foin, or other Seeds; and it is certain, That a Crop of Turnips, together with a little Hay, (natural or artificial it matters not) would ſupport more Sheep during the hard Time of the Winter, or Spring, than ten thouſand Acres of Common, where they can have neither Graſs, nor Shelter. Beſides, it is a known Fact, That ſince the Incloſing of Downs, Commons, and common Lands, the Number of Sheep hath been vaſtly increaſed in thoſe Countries where the Incloſures have been made:—And what is more, The Quantity of Wool growing upon the ſame Sheep's Back hath been increaſed likewiſe. Moreover, if this is the Caſe with reſpect even to dry Heaths and upland Commons,—what ſhall we ſay of ſuch Commons, which are mere Moors and Marſhes? For who is to drain, to trench, to manure, and cultivate them, while they remain open and common? And without this Huſbandry what are they worth for three Parts in four of the whole Year? In ſhort, this Affair is too abſurd to bear a long Debate. And the Whole may be ſummed up in a few Words, *viz.* That Commons, whether Downs or Marſhes, afford a tolerable Feed during a few Months in the Summer, when Food is plenty, and Shelter unneceſſary, but they afford none at all in the Winter, and the Beginning of the Spring, when both Food and Shelter are moſtly wanted.

II. IT is objected, "That Incloſures tend to ſpoil the Fineneſs of our "Wool; becauſe it is found by Experience, That after open Grounds

" have been incloſed, the Wool of the Sheep grows of a longer and a " coarſer Staple, than it did before."

Now in regard to Fineneſs, this is not the eſſential Quality of *Engliſh* Wool; nor are the Cloths and Stuffs ſent to foreign Markets, made out of our fineſt Wools, but out of our coarſe, middling, and long Wools; ſo that our Fabrics can receive no Diſcredit, nor our Trade any Diſadvantage upon that Account. Nay it is certain, That our fineſt Wool is chiefly uſed for home Conſumption, partly to make Cloth by itſelf, and partly to mix with *Spaniſh:* And the true ſuperfine Cloths are all *Spaniſh* Wool.

But we have yet had no Proof, That the bare Incloſing of Grounds renders the Wool coarſer:—Indeed it muſt be allowed, That a ſhort, poor, cloſe Feed, ſuch as Downs and Commons generally afford, will render the Fibres more feeble, and conſequently the Wool *weaker*, and in that Senſe *finer:* Whereas a ſtrong, hearty Feed, cauſes the Fibres of the Animal to be ſtronger, and the Perſpiration more vigorous; and perhaps by that means the Wool is rendered ſomewhat coarſer and longer. But this Wool is the fitteſt of all others for Combing, and making Stuffs and Worſteds; which in Fact is thought to be the chief Excellence for which the *Engliſh* Wool is preferable to that of other Nations. However, if a ſhort Feed is ſo neceſſary for preſerving the Fineneſs of the Wool, and if the Fineneſs itſelf is ſo neceſſary to preſerve the Credit of our Manufactures, I humbly conceive, That Incloſures may be fed down as cloſe as open Commons, and that therefore this can be no real Objection. But to come nearer to the Point, what ſhall we ſay of the Wools of *Urchenfield* in *Herefordſhire*, which are indiſputably the fineſt in *England*; and yet this Part of the County is as much incloſed as any Part in the Kingdom, if not more; and the Lands in general are of a very rich, deep, and fertile Soil? The Facts on both Sides are unqueſtionable; and therefore the Inference ſeems to be, That we have not yet diſcovered the true Cauſe of the Fineneſs, or Coarſeneſs of Wool;—I mean, any farther than what may be accounted for by the Strength or Weakneſs of the Animal.—Certain it is, That on the Hills of *Mendippe* in *Somerſetſhire*, a Range of Common of near twenty Miles in Length, there is an apparent Difference in the Wool of almoſt every Pariſh. And yet what Hypotheſis can account for this Difference? But as to the Fineneſs of the Wool of *Urchenfield*, the moſt probable Way of accounting for it upon general Principles, ſeems to be this; That if an equal Degree of Perſpiration cauſes the beſt Growth of Wool, which ſeems to be generally allowed, then the Farmers in *Urchenfield*,

Urchenfield, who houſe or cot their Sheep by Nights, keep their Sheep in an equal Temperature, and ſo prevent thoſe Extremes of Heat and Cold, which would damage their Wool.—This being their Practice, it is a Pity the like Practice was not tried in other Counties, in order to aſcertain the Effects of it; for the Experiment is eaſy, ſafe, and not expenſive; and the *Urchenfield* Wool is near *Cent. per Cent.* more valuable than the Wools of *Leominſter*, and other Places.

III. It is objected, "That by incloſing ſo much Common and "Common Fields, we ſhall leſſen the Quantity of Arable Lands; "inaſmuch as it will be more advantageous to lay down incloſed "Fields for Graſs, than to ſow Corn in them."

Now this Objection is juſt the Reverſe of the firſt; For that ſuppoſed, That all the Lands would be plowed up, ſo as to leave no Grounds for Paſture; and this is built upon a contrary Suppoſition, *viz.* That every Incloſure would be converted to Paſture only. But both theſe Objections are alike founded on a Miſtake, and ſeem to ariſe from a partial View of the Subject. For the true State of the Caſe ſeems to be this. *viz.* As the Produce of Arable and Paſture Grounds are very different in themſelves, and are both (we will ſuppoſe) to be brought to the ſame Market;—The Queſtion therefore is, Which of theſe Grounds *muſt* lie neareſt, and which *may* be fartheſt off from the Place where the Produce is to be vended? Now the Produce of Paſture Grounds, conſidered in a general View, is Milk, Butter, Cheeſe, and Fleſh: And each of theſe Articles, (large Cheeſes excepted) are to be brought to the Market freſh and freſh; conſequently the Grounds to be ſet apart for Paſture ought to be contiguous to the Town or City where the Market is held; or at moſt the Diſtance ought not to be very great, nor the Roads bad, becauſe the Carriage of theſe things muſt be repeated often, perhaps every Week or every Day, Winter and Summer. Whereas Corn may be brought from far, and ſo may Flour, either by Land or Water, and brought in ſuch vaſt Quantities at a time, as not to need frequent Repetitions. Hence therefore it comes to paſs, not to mention other Reaſons, That in Proportion as a Town or City increaſes, the Grounds around it are converted into Paſturage; and therefore from this partial View of the Caſe, ſome People have haſtily concluded, That the Quantity of Arable Lands is decreaſing, becauſe they have happened to obſerve ſeveral Arable Lands laid down in Graſs. Whereas in fact the Increaſe of Towns or Cities is a Proof of juſt the contrary;—only with this Difference, That the Corn brought to Mar-

ket comes from a greater Diſtance, than the Milk, Cheeſe, and Butter. But it is plain, That if the Markets for Corn increaſe, the Quantity of Arable Lands will not be diminiſhed.—As to the Breed of Sheep, there is no fear that this will leſſen, while the Inhabitants are increaſing in Numbers, and are deſirous of being fed with Lamb and Mutton, and continue well-diſpoſed to wear worſted Stuffs and woolen Cloaths.

IV. ANOTHER Objection ſometimes brought is, "That Incloſures "deprive many poor People, who had a Right to Common, of their juſt "Privileges, and thereby render them poorer than they were before."—To which a very ſhort Anſwer may be given, *viz.* That as to the Poor, their Circumſtances are rendered much more eligible by the Diſcommoning of open Grounds, and Increaſe of Huſbandry, than ever they were before. For the pooreſt Perſon now living, if he is induſtrious, may eat, ſleep, and wear better, and have better Houſhold Goods, and conſequently be a Man of more *Property*, than Perſons even of middling Fortunes in former times; ſo much is the comparative Wealth of this Nation increaſed. And indeed it is quite repugnant to Reaſon and Common Senſe to ſuppoſe, That the Poor ſhould be hurt by that very Method, which creates them conſtant Labour and Imployment, and enables the Farmer to pay them good Wages. But in regard to their Right or Privilege of Common, that ought not to be taken from them without a full and ample Compenſation: Nor on the other Hand ought either Poor or Rich to be indulged in a Petulancy of Humour to obſtruct the Public Good, merely becauſe they are reſolved to adhere obſtinately to the abſurd and fooliſh Prejudices of their Forefathers.

V. LASTLY, It is pretended, "That Commons are good for rearing "young Cattle: Therefore by deſtroying them, you deſtroy the Nurſery." Now if it had been ſaid, That Commons are good for ſtarving and ſtunting young Cattle, there would have been much greater Truth in the Aſſertion. For the Fact is, That when the People of a certain Diſtrict have an *unlimited* Right of Common, the Ground is ſo overſtocked with Numbers, that no large ſized, or generous Animal, whether Sheep, Horſe, or Beaſt, can be bred upon it. And even where the Right is *limited*, Frauds are ſo very eaſily and frequently committed, that it amounts in the Event to near the ſame, as if there had been no Limitation at all. And indeed where no one Perſon is particularly called upon to watch and detect the Fraud, and where every one may hope to be winked at in his turn, it is abſurd to ſuppoſe, that a very

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ſtrict Inquiry will be made. Nay, who will take upon him the odious Character of an *Informer* againſt his Neighbours? And why ſhould this Man be over-buſy, more than another? This is the Language, and theſe are the Sentiments, however unjuſtly it matters not, that will always prevail on ſuch Occaſions. As to the Article of rearing Lambs, Colts, or Calves, it is humbly apprehended, That clean Grounds and ſpacious Incloſures, properly watered and ſheltered, can rear them as well, and afford Graſs as good and plentiful, as wild barren Commons, over-run with Heath, Furze, Fern, or Bruſh-Wood:—Nor doth it appear, that there is any Virtue in ſtinking Marſhes full of Pits and Holes, and covered with Sedges and Ruſhes, and particularly baneful to Sheep, more than in dry, rich, healthy Ground, with better Feed and leſs Danger.—If it ſhould be ſaid, That incloſed Ground, cannot be put to ſuch Uſes, becauſe the Ground is too dear;—the Anſwer is, That we know the Fact to be otherwiſe already; and the more Ground there is incloſed, the leſs Weight there will be in this Objection.

WHEREFORE the Polities here propoſed are as follow:

I. THAT in Caſe each Claimant's Right of Common is *limited*, it ſhall be a neceſſary Condition for applying to Parliament, That the Petitioners for dividing the Commons, or Common Fields, ſhall be the Proprietors of at leaſt two thirds of this limited Right: *viz.* If the Number of Sheep are limited to ſix hundred, Horſes to one hundred and fifty, and Cattle to one hundred and fifty, then if the Petitioners can make it appear, That they are poſſeſſed of the *Right* of ſending two thirds into the Common, *viz.* four hundred Sheep, one hundred Horſes, and one hundred Cattle, they ſhall have the Benefit to be hereafter mentioned.

II. THAT in Caſe the Right of each Claimant is *unlimited*, then it ſhall be neceſſary, That the Petitioners ſhall be two thirds more in *Number*, than the Non-Petitioners or Opponents. And Guardians may have the Liberty, both in this and the former Caſe, to give Conſent for Minors.

III. THAT upon the fulfilling of theſe two Conditions, all Acts of Parliament for dividing Commons, and Common Fields, ſhall be conſidered as a truly *National Concern*; and conſequently, That the *Parliamentary* Fees ſhall be defrayed by the Public, and charged to the current Service, according to the Cuſtom in ſuch Caſes.

IV. THAT

IV. THAT in Caſe all the Claimants can agree, they may divide the Common among themſelves, without farther trouble; and cauſe the Inſtrument of Diviſion to be recorded among the Records of the County, either at the general, or the quarter Aſſizes.

Now by means of theſe Polities, all Perſons will be incouraged to apply, who are now deterred by Reaſon of the great Expence. And yet as two thirds either in *Number* or *Property*, muſt become Petitioners in the one Caſe, before they can be intitled to obtain the Act *gratis*; and all muſt become unanimous in the other, before they can regiſter it in the County Records, a reaſonable Security is provided againſt Injuſtice or Oppreſſion.—Indeed if ſuch Polities could be obtained, they would be conſidered by all the Kingdom, as an *Invitation* to apply: And therefore many would apply who now remain ſilent: Particularly we would hope, that the Pariſhes and Diſtricts within a Circle of forty Miles round about the Metropolis would not let ſuch immenſe Tracts lie waſte, and in a Manner uſeleſs, for want of Application to Parliament, or for want of agreeing among themſelves to incloſe them, as they now do.—Nay, in Fact, in the preſent State of theſe Commons, they are not only uſeleſs, but a Nuſance to Society. For ſo many Heaths and Commons round *London*, can anſwer no other End, but to be a Rendezvous for Highwaymen, and a commodious Scene for them to exerciſe their Profeſſion. Whereas, had they been all cultivated and incloſed, an Hue and Cry might eaſily be raiſed; and it would be very dangerous, if not impoſſible, for Highwaymen to attempt to Rob in an incloſed Country thick ſet with Farm-Houſes and Villages. Not to mention, that every Common near a Town or City is an irreſiſtible Temptation to Horſe-Racing, Idleneſs, Gaming, and all Sorts of Debauchery, which, if incloſed, might go in Aid of the Poor-Tax. Therefore it is certain that the Quantity both of Arable and Paſture, and Garden Grounds, and conſequently the Increaſe of Riches, Induſtry, and Labour, would be much greater than indolent or ſelf-intereſted People are willing to ſuppoſe. For it is a very moderate Calculation to allow, That at leaſt two Millions of Acres within a Circle of forty Miles radius from the Suburbs of *London*, might be ſo improved, as to be worth five Shillings *per* Acre, one with another, more than they are at preſent. Now this is an Acquiſition of *Landed* Property of Five hundred thouſand Pounds a Year; which if Sold at twenty five Years Purchaſe, would yield Twelve million five hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling! Is ſuch a Sum as this to be loſt to the Nation,

Nation,—to a Trading, Commercial Nation, and a Nation vaſtly in Debt, only for the Want of aſking! And are Party or Faction, or Electioneering Intereſts, or the bewitching Temptations of an Horſe-Race, to prevent ſuch a Benefit as this!

LASTLY, Were the abovementioned Polities to be obtained, the rich Marſhes, or Moors of *Somerſetſhire*, and of ſeveral other Counties in *England*, now lying in Common, and conſequently of little Uſe the far greater Part of the Year, might all be *drained*, and rendered as fertile Diſtricts as any in *Europe*. And our Sedge-Moors, Mark-Moors, Weſton-Moors, Nailſy-Moors, Glaſtonbury-Moors, *&c. &c.* of *Somerſetſhire*, might then vie with, if not excel the * *Beemſters*, the *Purmerendes*, the *Schermers*, the *Wormers*, and the *Waerts* of *North Holland*. Particularly let me be permitted to obſerve, That as the Lands of *Somerſetſhire* have a certain Quality of producing the beſt and toughest Flax in the known World, a Polity of this Sort might be attended with ſuch Conſequences, as might imploy many Thouſands of Families in this ſingle Article of Manufacture:—Beſides the good Effects which ſuch a Circulation of Induſtry and Labour would neceſſarily occaſion in every other Part of Commerce. And would not ſuch an Acquiſition be more valuable, than a thouſand Victories either by Land, or Sea? Nay, what need is there, that any State or Kingdom ſhould ingage in OFFENSIVE Wars to inlarge their Dominions, while ſo great a Part of what they already poſſeſs, remains uncultivated and unimproved?—In ſhort, The miſtaken Part of Mankind may call that Man an Hero, who makes a Country deſolate: But certainly he is the true Hero who peoples a Country, and renders future Generations eaſy and happy, maugre all the fooliſh Oppoſition of his Cotemporaries, and their abſurd Prejudices.

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* "When a Stranger is at *Amſterdam*, it is worth his while to croſs over to *North* "*Holland*, alias *Weſt Frieſland*, and make a Tour of that ſmall, but beautiful ſpot. For- "merly it was a perfect Marſh, compoſed of many great Lakes, ſeparated from each "other only by high Roads or Dikes; but now nothing remains of them, except their "Names and Dimenſions in Maps. They are entirely drained, and metamorphoſed into "one of the moſt delightful Countries in the World. It is full of Towns and Villages, "in the midſt of pleaſant Gardens and rich Paſtures. With the Milk of their nume- "rous Herds of Cows they make vaſt Quantities of excellent Cheeſe and Butter, which "inrich the Country. Sir *William Temple* did not let this Corner eſcape his Obſerva- "tion. He ſays, the *Beemſter* (formerly a *rotten* Marſh) is ſo well planted with Gar- "dens, Orchards, Rows of Trees, and fertile Incloſures, [and *note*, he might have "mentioned the vaſt Flocks of Sheep grazing upon it] that it makes the pleaſanteſt "Landſkip he ever ſaw.—This Lake was drained in 1612, after four Years Labour. "It contains 7090 Acres, beſides the Highways and Dikes." See *Deſcription of* Holland, Page 380, 381.

SECTION III.

A Polity for changing Tithes into Glebe.

WHEN *Moſes* inſtituted the Polity of the *Hebrew* Commonwealth, he balanced the Landed Property ſo equally between the twelve Tribes, that it was morally impoſſible for any one Tribe to make a Conqueſt of the reſt. For he ordered the Land to be divided to each Tribe by Lot; and each Diſtrict was again ſubdivided among the particular Families of the Tribe. Now theſe Families were not ſuffered to intermarry with any others, but thoſe of their own Tribe: And leſt ſome more potent Families ſhould ariſe and ſwallow up the reſt, either by failure of Iſſue, intailing of Eſtates on Heirs Male, Purchaſes, or Mortgages; it was ordained, that in Caſe of failure of Iſſue, the next of Kin ſhould marry the Widow, and raiſe up a new Family; in Caſe of failure of Sons, the Daughters ſhould be joint Heireſſes; and in Caſe of Purchaſes, the Purchaſe ſhould be valid only for forty nine Years at *the fartheſt*, and then at the fiftieth Year, or Year of Jubilee, the Eſtate was to return to the Heirs at Law; laſtly, in regard to Mortgages and Foreclоſures, theſe were abſolutely prevented by the Prohibition againſt lending Money on Intereſt or Uſury. This being the State of Things, it is eaſy to ſee, That there could be no undue Monopoly of Land in ſuch a Government. All were to have a Sufficiency, and none to have too much.

BUT as the Tribe of *Levi* was ſet apart for the Service of Religion, the Queſtion is, How were they to be provided for? And this Queſtion is the properer to be aſked, becauſe it was almoſt impoſſible to accommodate them with a Settlement or Diſtrict after the Manner of the other Tribes. And therefore we find it expreſſly injoined, That *Levi ſhould have no Part, nor Inheritance with his Brethren*, Deut. x. 9. For indeed the very Nature of ſuch an Inheritance would have confined them to one Spot; whereas it was intended, That they ſhould be ſcattered among all the Tribes and Families of *Iſrael*, in order to be the Miniſters and Teachers of Religion in every Place. On the other Hand, if they had been ſuffered to inherit, or ingroſs Lands at Pleaſure throughout all the Tribes, this Privilege, together with the Influence of their ſacred Character, might have created them ſuch an undue Share of Power, as would have indangered the whole Conſtitution. Laſtly, if they had been ſupported only by a certain invariable Tax, this would

would have degenerated into the Nature of a *Modus*, and have never kept Pace with the comparative Riches, or Poverty of the reſt of the People:—Not to mention, that a Modus, or *fixt* Salary, would have been a very weak Incitement to the Paſſion of Self-Love to co-operate with the Genius of the Conſtitution, and the Deſign of the Legiſlature; it having been the grand Plan of this divine Legiſlator to conſtitute ſuch a Polity in all Reſpects, as would ingage the Individual to purſue the Intereſt of the Public, becauſe he would purſue his own.

HENCE therefore ſome other Settlement or Appointment muſt have taken Place, in order to do Juſtice to the Tribe of *Levi* for the Loſs they ſuſtained in being deprived of their Share of their Inheritance among their Brethren, and to ſupport them properly as Miniſters of Religion. And that Appointment was TITHES; a Method of Support the beſt calculated for the Genius of that Government, and the Circumſtances of the *Hebrew* People. Nay, it deſerves to be taken Notice of, That *Moſes* interwove the Appointment of Tithes with the Diſcharge of Religious Offices in ſuch a Manner, That in Proportion as the Prieſts and Levites were remiſs in the one, they loſt their Quota of the other: So that it became their *immediate Intereſt*, as well as *Duty*, to inculcate the Ordinances of the Law, on which depended their preſent Support, and to prevent the People from deviating into Idolatry, or falling off from the Terms of the Covenant. Now this admirable Polity, ſo deeply laid and ſurprizingly judicious, was relative only to that *Theocratic* Conſtitution, which *Moſes* eſtabliſhed;—A Conſtitution now no more, and which it would be both impious, and abſurd to attempt to revive at this Day. Conſequently thoſe antient Fathers, *Origen*, St *Ambroſe*, St *Auſtin*, &c. &c. who maintained, That Tithes were of divine Right under the Goſpel, becauſe they were ſo under the Law, muſt have had very imperfect Notions both of Law and Goſpel, and had made little Progreſs in diſtinguiſhing the *Peculiarities* of the one, from the *Univerſality* of the other.

INDEED it is certain, That every Order of Men, Clergy or Laity, who are uſeful to Society, have a juſt and equitable, and therefore a *divine* Right to be ſupported in their Profeſſion, ſuitably to their Station: And conſequently in this Senſe the Chriſtian Clergy have moſt indubitably a divine Right to a decent and ſufficient Subſiſtence,—ſuch a Subſiſtence as will put them above the Contempt of the Poor, and below the Envy of the Great. And this doth well agree with St *Paul*'s Declaration, who delivers it not as from himſelf, but immediately from God: viz. *Even ſo hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the*

Goſpel, ſhould live of the Goſpel. But neither our Lord, nor St *Paul*, nor any other inſpired Writer of the New Teſtament, ſuggeſt a Syllable concerning the *Neceſſity* of continuing that Part of the Jewiſh Law which relates to Tithes: Nay, if the Practice of St *Paul*, and his Advice to the *Corinthians* and *Galatians* were to be conſidered as a *Rule* in this Caſe, the quite contrary might be gathered from them. It is therefore exceeding ſtrange, That ſo many Chriſtians, antient and modern, who thought they could never expreſs too great an Abhorrence of Jewiſh Rites and Doctrines, ſhould yet adopt ſome of the *moſt glaring* Parts of Judaiſm (for this is not the only one) and ſo far commence JEWS themſelves.

THE Reaſon therefore for the original Appointment of Tithes having ceaſed with the Levitical Prieſthood, it is natural to conclude, even without farther Proof, That the Introduction of this Law into the Chriſtian Diſpenſation muſt have been improper, or at leaſt unneceſſary. Let us now therefore inquire, what Effects have followed from it.

AND *firſt*, This Appointment, in a Commercial and Political View, muſt be conſidered as a *Tax* upon the Subject for the Support of an uſeful and neceſſary Order of Men.—But alas! it is ſuch a Tax, as plainly tends to ſtop Induſtry, to diſcourage Improvements and good Huſbandry, to favour Idleneſs, and introduce Poverty. For the more diligent and induſtrious a Man is, the more he is ſubject to the Impoſitions of this Tax: Whereas the bad Huſbandman and the Sluggard, who are really the Drones of Society, eſcape in a manner Scot-free. Now this Proceeding is the very Reverſe of what a good Tax ought to be: And though I am far from thinking, that the Clergy in *England* have too much, or even a ſufficient Proviſion in Proportion to the preſent *increaſed* Wealth of the Laity, yet I do maintain, that this Tax is more heavy and oppreſſive in its Conſequences, than many others, though they produce three times the Sum. For the Nature of Taxations ought never to be judged of from the Amount of the Sum collected, but from the Effect of the Tax upon the Diſpoſitions and Reſolutions of Mankind. And Fact it is, That when a Farmer finds he cannot exert his Induſtry, without paying ſo dearly for a *Licence*, he will often content himſelf with ſitting ſtill. Inſtances of this kind are daily occurring, eſpecially in regard to the Introduction of new Improvements. Nor is it to any Effect to ſay, That the Landholder by ſo doing is chiefly his own Enemy: For a Fact is no leſs certain, becauſe the Motives to it may not be ſolid: And ſuch is the Diſpoſition of Mankind, that it is with Difficulty you can perſuade them to be induſ-

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trious, unleſs you can prove likewiſe, that their Gettings ſhall become their own. And it is this very Principle in regard to the Land-Tax, which hath ſo effectually induced the Landholders in *England* to cultivate and improve their Eſtates: For they know, That the Land-Tax will not be raiſed the higher in a well-cultivated County, Hundred, or Pariſh, than if the County, Hundred, or Pariſh, had remained unimproved: Therefore all the additional Improvements become their own. Whereas were the Land-Tax to riſe in Proportion to the *increaſed* Value of the Lands (which is the Caſe in *France*, where both the *Taille*, and the *Dizieme* vary every Year) this Iſland, which hath been ſo ſurprizingly improved within theſe laſt ſixty Years, would have remained in *Statu quo*, like the reſt of its Neighbours; and the Spirit of Induſtry and good Huſbandry would have been nipped in the Bud.

SECONDLY, In a religious View the Appointment of Tithes is to be conſidered as the Support of the Miniſters of Religion:—But it is ſuch a Support, as naturally, I had almoſt ſaid neceſſarily, tends to ſet the Incumbent and his Pariſhioners at Variance with each other. For when the Maintenance of the Clergyman is to depend on Tithes, it is obvious, That every Pariſhioner can cheat him if he pleaſes: And therefore, without intending any Reflection, we may juſtly conclude, that where the Temptation is ſo ſtrong and univerſal, a great many will yield to it, and cheat in ſome degree or other. Hence it comes to paſs, that tho' the Incumbent ſhould be of the ſweeteſt Temper, and mildeſt Diſpoſition in the World, this is enough to ſour him and make him fretful: And if he ſhould happen to be naturally choleric or contentious, he will never want Provocations, while he has to do with Tithes. Perhaps the Charge of Fraud, which he can *legally* ſupport in a Court of Judicature againſt any particular Perſon, may be but a Trifle;—ſuch a Trifle as would cauſe a Man to be greatly exclaimed againſt, if he went to Law for the Recovery of it: And yet the Amount of theſe Trifles all over the Pariſh may make one third, or one half of his whole Income: So that the poor Man is reduced to this unhappy Dilemma, either to ſit down quietly, and ſee himſelf defrauded of half his Income, while himſelf and his Family are wanting it,—or to bear the Character of an angry, litigious Perſon, who, though the Miniſter of Peace, is always at war with his Pariſhioners, and inſiſting upon ſuch mean, trifling Articles, as a Layman would ſcorn to contend for. In ſhort, when the Caſe is thus circumſtanced, what can be expected, but the very Things which the Apoſtle ſaith ought to be put away among Chriſtians, *viz.* Bitterneſs and Wrath, Anger, Clamor, and Evil-ſpeak-

ing? And why ſhould the Polity of our Conſtitution concerning the Maintenance of the Clergy *counter-act* thoſe very Principles of Chriſtian Love and Benevolence, which the Clergy are particularly called upon to recommend to others, and to practiſe themſelves?—Surely it would be judged the wrongeſt and moſt abſurd Proceeding in the World, in the Affairs of Government and Civil Life, to require one Thing by Principle, and yet to inſtitute a Polity for inflaming the Paſſions, the Paſſion of Self-Love eſpecially, ſtrongly in behalf of another.—But nevertheleſs as the Evil is inveterate, and of a very long ſtanding, we muſt not be precipitate or violent in the Means of a Cure, but apply thoſe Methods only which are gentle and gradual.

WHEREFORE the Polity here propoſed is ſuch, as will ſcarce admit of any Difficulty in the Execution, when once eſtabliſhed: *viz.* To paſs a Law for impowering the Parties concerned to exchange Tithes for Lands, whenever they ſhall find it their mutual Intereſt ſo to do.—But in order to guard againſt thoſe Colluſions and Impoſitions, which may attend ſuch a Power of exchanging, it may be neceſſary to make both the Patron of the Living, and the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, Parties in this Caſe, together with the Incumbent. And then, when the Incumbent, the Patron, and the Biſhop, are all ſatisfied, that the propoſed Exchange will be for the Advantage of the Church in queſtion, they may ſign an Inſtrument of Exchange to the Landholder, in the ſame Manner as he is to deliver over a Counter-deed to them. Moreover, as ſuch Exchanges will naturally create a great many petty Glebes in different Parts of the Pariſh, and perhaps in different Pariſhes, it will be neceſſary to continue a like Power of exchanging theſe ſcattered Parcels of Glebe for other Lands, that may happen to lie more convenient and contiguous.—In the mean Time, till theſe ſecond Exchanges can be effected, the Incumbent will certainly be benefited, not only becauſe the firſt or original Exchange was to his Advantage, but alſo becauſe the worſt Circumſtance of ſcattered Glebes are more deſireable than thoſe of ſcattered Tithes,—eſpecially ſuch which are *Vicarial.* And when he can have drawn his Glebes together by ſubſequent Interchanges, he may make the Rectory or Vicarage both a very valuable, and compact Endowment. But be that as it may; certain it is, That the Farmer or Landholder will behold this Endowment of Glebe with very different Eyes, to what he doth that of Tithes; nor will he grudge his Pariſh-Miniſter the full Enjoyment of his legal Rights, be they more or leſs. On the other Hand, all Cauſes of Complaint and Diſpute on the Part of the Incumbent, will then be taken away; ſo that both may

live

live in mutual Harmony, as they ought to do, and be aſſiſting to each other in mutual good Offices. Add to this, That when the Landholder can have all his Lands Tithe-free, the very Addition of Straw and Hay, and conſequently of Manure, hence occaſioned, will enable him both to ſupport a larger Stock of Sheep, Horſes, and Cattle, and alſo to dreſs and manure his Grounds more effectually, for raiſing greater Quantities of Corn.—Nor will he then be diſcouraged from putting in Execution any Scheme for Improvement, when he knows, That all his Labour and Induſtry will be his own.

THUS therefore might the whole Tithes of the Kingdom be changed in a Courſe of Years into Glebe, without Ferment, Oppoſition, or Contention. For as all Tranſactions would be voluntary, no Man could have a Right to complain: And yet every Man concerned would be deſirous of making the Exchange here propoſed, becauſe his own Intereſt would ſuggeſt it to him. And ſuch a Method of ſupporting the Clergy, though it may be ſubject to ſome Inconveniences, (as every thing is) would certainly be preferable, in our Situation, to any other. For in regard to the Appointment of Tithes, the very great Inconveniences attending this Syſtem, have been ſet forth already: And in relation to a fixt Tax, a Pound Rate, or Modus, this would not only be wrong, becauſe it makes no Diſtinction between the *comparative* Wealth, or Poverty of the reſt of the Nation at different Periods of Time, but becauſe no kind of *annual* Tax, be it more or leſs, will ever be paid by the Pariſhioners to their Clergy, with an hearty good Will, and ſincere Approbation.

LASTLY, As the Caſe of the Levitical Prieſthood, which was hereditary in one Tribe, hath no Analogy with that of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, whoſe Wealth, if they have any, ſinks again into the common Stock of the Laity, and who can have no ſeparate Intereſts from the reſt of the Nation; ſo likewiſe it will be proper to obſerve, That the Science of Agriculture may probably receive conſiderable Improvements, when Men of Letters are ingaged in its Purſuit. For the Ignorance of the common Herd of Mankind, and their Prejudices and Attachments to old Cuſtoms, are really aſtoniſhing. And though much might be expected from Farmers and Occupiers of Land, becauſe they are daily converſant in theſe Affairs, yet in Fact it will be found, that they too often proceed on by Rote, keeping to the Practice of their Forefathers, without inquiring whether it was right, or wrong. If *Virgil* of old, or the very worthy Dr *Hales* of modern times, had proceeded upon the ſame Plan, the one had never wrote that very judicious,

dicious, as well as beautiful Poem, called the *Georgics*, nor the other his *Vegetable Statics*.

SECTION IV.

A Polity for increaſing Buildings in low, fenny or marſhy Grounds, and rendering them healthy.

IF ſuitable Polities can be eſtabliſhed for the Draining, and Cultivation of Fens, Moors, and Marſhes (which was the Thing attempted to be proved in the ſecond Section of this Chapter) it follows of Courſe, That Houſes ought to be built in them, and theſe Houſes rendered as deſireable, and healthy as the Situation will admit. And it is humbly conceived, That Art and good Management can go a great Way in this Matter. But before we enter directly upon the Subject, it will be neceſſary to premiſe a few Obſervations.

IT appears therefore to be a general Rule, That Lands are beſt cultivated and taken Care of, *cæteris paribus*, when the Farm-houſe is pretty near the Center, and equidiſtant from all Parts of the Eſtate; becauſe all the Eſtate can be better looked after. And the ſame Reaſon ſhould weigh with Gentlemen to part their Eſtates into moderate Farms, rather than join moderate Farms together to make large ones; or in Caſe they are very large already, it would be certainly right to divide them into two, or three Shares. For when the Farm is of ſuch a vaſt Extent, the Eſtate will not be duly cultivated; nor will the Farmer mind his Buſineſs as a *Farmer*; but will commence a kind of Gentleman, doing no Work himſelf, and only riding about to inſpect others. And this Principle will extend itſelf to the reſt of his Family; ſo that the Work of an whole Family will be intirely loſt to the Community. In ſhort, it is in Agriculture, as in Manufactures; *viz.* The more Rivals, where all may live decently, but none ſuperfluouſly, the more induſtrious they will all be; and they will do their Work in greater Perfection. Now a Farm of four or five, not to mention ſeven or eight hundred Pounds a Year is certainly a *Monopoly* in its kind; becauſe it would have afforded a comfortable Subſiſtence to three, or four Families, if divided into ſo many diſtinct Farms. And indeed it is attended with all the bad Effects which other Monopolies are, ſuch as diſpeopling a Country, and preventing the Increaſe of Inhabitants, raiſing one ſort of Perſons too high, and depreſſing others too low: All which muſt be greatly injurious to national Induſtry, good Huſbandry, and extenſive Commerce. Moreover it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that a Man

a Man who hath ten or twenty Servants to inſpect, can look after them as well, as he that hath only two or three, and is working himſelf together with them.

Now if theſe Arguments are concluſive even in reſpect to dry, champaign Countries, they will be found to conclude much ſtronger in regard to Fens or Marſhes. For in the firſt Place, rich, fat, and fertile Grounds, ſuch as thoſe generally are, do not require a large Extent of Country to make up a competent Farm. For a Quantity of two hundred, perhaps one hundred Acres of ſuch Grounds may be a more valuable Eſtate, than two thouſand Acres upon barren and bleak Hills. In the next Place the very Cottagers can derive a better Maintenance from two Acres of Ground in ſuch Low-lands, than from forty in many Sorts of High-lands. For out of this little Plot they may ſpare an half, or a third every Year, for ſowing of Flax, which Vegetable never can flouriſh well but in a moiſt, deep, and rich Soil; and requires to be watered after it is pulled; otherwiſe it will never be fit for uſe. Now in marſhy Grounds, where the whole Country is interſected by Canals (as ſhall be deſcribed hereafter) there can be no want of Water: And even if we could ſuppoſe, That a Man was denied the Uſe of the public Canals for that purpoſe, he might dig a Pit in his own Garden at Pleaſure; ſo that the Flax ſown on this Acre of Ground, from the ſowing it, throughout all the Stages, till the manufacturing it into Yarn or Thread, and perhaps into Cloth, may be performed by a Cottager within his own Family, and reward his Induſtry with at leaſt twenty, perhaps thirty, or even forty Pounds a Year. Judge now what an Advantage this would be both to the *local* Intereſts of a County, and to the general Intereſts of a Kingdom;—eſpecially when it is conſidered, that moſt of this Labour is performed at ſpare Hours, when the Family would have had little elſe to do, if they had not done this. Therefore what an aſtoniſhing Loſs muſt this Nation ſuſtain in leaving ſuch immenſe Quantities of its richeſt Grounds to lie waſte and uninhabited! Surely, ſurely it is high time to rouſe out of this Lethargy! But there is yet one Reaſon more to be given for rendering a Fenny or Swampy Country as populous as poſſible, which certainly deſerves a very particular Regard; and that is, That the more populous you render a marſhy Country, the more healthy it becomes. For every Fire, and every Drain is of Service to purify the Air, and to prevent or correct thoſe Fogs and Damps which are ſo noxious to animal Life.

But ſtill it muſt be owned, That according to the preſent Method of Building in ſuch low Places, there is no Incouragement to build

more.

more. For the Agues and Seaſonings, the Scurvies and putrid Fevers bred in marſhy Grounds, make ſuch Havock among the Inhabitants, that very few would care to live there, who can live any where elſe. Now the Unwholſomneſs of theſe Places muſt certainly be owing to thoſe Effluvia and Exhalations which ariſe from rotten Grounds and ſtagnating Waters, whereby the Air is filled with noxious Particles and various Animalcula, and conſequently rendered unfit for Animal, at leaſt for *Human* Uſe. This being the Caſe, the very Nature of the Diſeaſe ſuggeſts the Cure: For if the corrupted State of the Atmoſphere is the Original of theſe Diſorders, two Things are neceſſary to be done: viz. *Firſt*, To purify the Air as much as poſſible by Fires and Drains, according to what hath been obſerved above. And *ſecondly*, To build the Houſes in ſuch a manner, as ſhall cauſe the Inhabitants to live out of the reach of the noxious Part of this Atmoſphere.

Now the latter is the peculiar Aim and Deſign of this Polity: And then, if the Habitations can be made healthy, there is no need to fear, but that the Country would ſoon be rendered populous; and by Conſequence, the additional Number of Drains and Fires will ſtill correct the natural Dampneſs of the Situation. Suppoſe therefore, That an Act was paſſed for granting certain Privileges or Exemptions (herein after mentioned) to ſuch Dwelling-Houſes ſituated in Fens and Marſhes, as ſhall be built according to the following Direction; *viz.* That the Ground or Firſt Floors ſhall be raiſed two Feet at leaſt above the common Surface, and be arched over, but have no Chimnies in them; That all the Floors above them, being built upon theſe Arches, ſhall be at leaſt fourteen Feet in the clear, higher than the Ground Floors, and be accommodated with Fire-places;—And then the reſt of the Building (where higher Stories are required) may be left to the Pleaſure and Diſcretion of the Proprietors. Now by Virtue of this Regulation, the Rooms which the Family ſhall inhabit, (for they cannot inhabit the Ground-Rooms below Stairs without a Fire-place) theſe Rooms, I ſay, built upon Arches, will neceſſarily be dry and warm; And as they are likewiſe raiſed ſixteen Feet at leaſt above the Level of the Country, they will be placed in a different Climate, ſo that the Inhabitants will breath a much purer Air, than they otherwiſe could do. For it is obſervable, that the more noxious Damps and Vapours ſeldom riſe higher than eight, or ten Feet; And the moſt malignant Steams of all do not riſe ſo high; As appears by the Experiment of the famous *Grotto del Cano* in Italy.—But even though we ſhould allow, that ſometimes Fumes and Exhalations will riſe to the Height of ſixteen Feet, and upwards;

upwards; yet they will neceſſarily become harmleſs and inoffenſive in Proportion as they ſpread through a greater Space, like the expanding Rays of a Circle; and therefore the Quantity of noxious Matter will always be diminiſhed according as the Squares of the Diſtances from the Surface are increaſed: So that tho' you ſhould allow, That a Doſe of eighty Grains of any poiſonous Vapour, will prove fatal to human Life at the Diſtance of four Feet from the Surface, it by no Means follows, That a Doſe of only ten Grains at the Diſtance of ſixteen Feet, ſhall be attended with any ill Effect whatever. Add to this, That the higher the People live above this groſs and corrupt Atmoſphere, the greater Advantage they will receive, generally ſpeaking, from a Current of Wind diſſipating and diſpelling the unwholeſome Effluvia, and bringing a Stream of freſh and ſweet Air from a drier Country.

THESE Reaſonings perhaps may appear to ſome Perſons too finely ſpun, and inconcluſive:—I muſt therefore add, That they are not merely Speculations, but fully warranted by Fact and Experience: For the famous City of *Venice*, beſides other Places, affords ſuch a Proof of the Truth of theſe Aſſertions, as ſhould remove all Doubt, and ſilence Objections; this City being built not only in a Marſh, but, what is much worſe, on a watry Ooze, where there is little, if any Tide; and where there is no ſtrong Current to preſerve the Waters from Putrefaction:—Yet this City is not remarkably unhealthy, nor do the Inhabitants find ſo much Inconvenience from their damp Situation, as the Inhabitants of the Hundreds of *Eſſex*, the Fens of *Ely*, or the Marſhes of *Somerſetſhire*. But the Advantage which this City injoys is, That it is built in the manner above deſcribed, the firſt or ground Floors being uſed only for Magazines or Storehouſes, and the Floors above them being the conſtant Reſidence of the Family: Moreover the like Practice obtains at *Marſeilles*, *Bourdeaux*, and other Places. And why it ſhould not obtain univerſally here in *England*, where Cautions of this ſort are very neceſſary, is hard to ſay:—For undoubtedly an Houſe ſo conſtructed, would coſt very little, if any thing more (eſpecially in Fens and Marſhes, where Bricks can be made upon the Spot) I ſay, it would hardly coſt any thing more, than one built after the preſent Form: Add to this, That the Arches of ſuch an Houſe would laſt much longer than Timber can be ſuppoſed to do; and the Danger from Fires would be much leſs; nor would theſe lower Rooms be at all uſeleſs or improper in any Family.

BUT Cuſtom hath determined it otherwiſe in *England*; and Cuſtom is a Tyrant not eaſily overcome. Let us ſee therefore, how far we

might prevail with Self-Love and Self-Intereſt to withſtand this Tyrant. For old Prejudices are never to be *nationally* ſubdued, till the Individuals, of which the Nation conſiſts, are brought to make it a common Cauſe. This being the Caſe, let us not aim at too many Things at firſt, but confine the Polity to ſuch Buildings only as ſhall be erected in fenny and marſhy Grounds, and thoſe Grounds which were before Common, becauſe their Situation doth moſt require it, and becauſe there can no Objections be raiſed againſt granting Privileges and Exemptions to Common Grounds, which never paid any Tax before.

FIRST then, If an Houſe, built as above deſcribed, ſhould be exempt from paying the Window-Tax the firſt ten Years after its Erection, this would be ſome Encouragement to build.

SECONDLY, If the Occupier or Inhabitant ſhould likewiſe be free from ſerving any Offices he ſhould pleaſe to decline for the firſt ten Years, this would be ſome farther Inducement.

THIRDLY, If the Inhabitant and the Lands were to be exempted from all County, Hundred, or Pariſh Taxes, for the like Space of ten Years, this would operate ſtill more ſtrongly.

LASTLY, If the Houſe, together with all the Grounds belonging to it, not exceeding two hundred Acres, were to be freed from the Payment of the Land-Tax for the firſt ten Years, this, together with the other three, would undoubtedly be effectual Incouragement to build. And thus might the fenny Waſtes, and deſolate Marſhes of *England*, which at preſent pay no Taxes of any kind, and contribute very little, if any thing to the public Utility, thus might they, I ſay, be covered with good, comfortable, and wholeſome Dwellings, and contribute as much towards inriching the Community, and defraying the neceſſary Expences of the State, in the Courſe of a few Years, as any other Part of the Kingdom. And ſurely it is much more delightful even by way of Proſpect from an Eminence, to ſee a rich Vale, where the induſtrious Inhabitants are at Work, like the Bees, each at his proper Imployment, and to view their decent Houſes, numerous Flocks and Herds, fine Plantations and well cultivated Grounds, than it is to behold a large ſtanding Lake in Winter, or a dead, flat Plain in Summer, with nothing to diverſify the Scene but Black Cattle for a few Months.

AND now, as the Subject falls naturally in our Way, it may not be amiſs to ſet down an eaſy Method for draining large Fens or Marſhes, where it is not practicable to open a Paſſage for carrying off the Waters. Suppoſe a Fen or Meer of a quadrangular Figure, containing about ten thouſand Acres, which Fen is two Feet under Water during the greater

Part

Part of the Year. Now the firſt Thing to be done in ſuch a Caſe is, to chooſe a very dry Summer for digging a large Trench of at leaſt twelve Feet deep, and ſixty broad, at the very Edge of the Meer, to go quite round it; and with the Earth taken out of this Trench you ſhould make firm, broad, and high Banks, eſpecially that Bank which is on the outer-ſide.—Then, the next Year, when the Ground hath been ſomewhat drained by this Trench, you are to dig, at the Diſtance of an hundred Yards, an *inner* Trench of about ten Feet deep, and forty wide, which is likewiſe to be carried quite round the Meer; and with the Earth of this ſecond Trench make good the inner Bank of the firſt Year's Trench: Let both theſe Banks be raiſed to the Height of ten or twelve Feet above the Level, but made exceeding ſtrong and firm; for all will depend upon their Strength and Goodneſs. Then the third Year you are to cut Trenches acroſs, and along, ſo as to divide the whole Ground into Shares of about two hundred Acres each, and theſe Trenches may be made only ſix Feet deep;—but all ſhould communicate, either directly or indirectly, with the Trench of the ſecond Year, *viz.* that which is ten Feet deep: And the Earth taken out of theſe Trenches ſhould not be raiſed into Banks, but ſpread abroad upon the Surface, in order to raiſe the Ground ſomewhat above its natural Level.

Now it is obvious, That as all the Trenches of ſix Feet deep communicate with that of ten, which we will term the *Canal*, the Water will have a ſufficient Deſcent to run into that Canal; wherefore the only remaining Difficulty is, to get the Water out of this Canal into the great Canal of all, *viz.* that which was firſt made, and is incompaſſed with Banks twelve Feet high;—and for the Sake of Diſtinction, may be called the *Grand Reſervoir*. Now this is eaſily performed by the help of a Windmill or two, placed at proper Diſtances, and ſo contrived as to work a Set of Pumps for raiſing the Water out of the Canal into the Reſervoir. But when there happens to be no Occaſion for making theſe Evacuations, the Mills may be imployed in grinding Corn, ſawing Timber, making Paper, expreſſing Oil, and the like, according to the Cuſtom in *Holland*. Laſtly, In regard to the Waters of the grand Reſervoir, if any Danger ſhould be apprehended from their riſing too high, Pipes may be laid in the outermoſt high Bank for carrying off the ſurplus Water into ſome neighbouring Brook or River, or to the Sea. And ſurely this may be done without much Charge or Difficulty. For though the Thing was impracticable, while the Water lay upon a Level with the reſt of the Country, yet when it is raiſed

eight or ten Feet above the Surface by means of theſe high Banks, there can be no great Art, Expence, or Difficulty in laying Pipes for carrying it away.

AND thus might the whole Fen, or Meer, be turned into dry Lands, as the Meers in *Holland* have frequently been, at the Expence of thirty, or at moſt forty thouſand Pounds Capital; and create a Landed Intereſt of about ſeven thouſand Pounds a Year. For after the moſt ample Allowance is made for the Ground taken up in Banks, Reſervoirs, Canals, Trenches, Public Roads, *&c.* there will remain about ſix thouſand ſix hundred Acres of extremely rich and fertile Lands. And if theſe are divided into thirty three Shares, they will make ſo many diſtinct Eſtates of two hundred Acres each. Now if one of theſe Shares, *viz.* That which is neareſt the Center, was ſet apart for a Church, a Glebe, and a little Town, (which might eaſily be done by allotting one hundred and fifty Acres for the Glebe, one for the Church and Church-yard, and forty nine for the Town) this Diſtrict would be converted into a very comfortable and happy Neighbourhood of middling Gentry, ſubſtantial Shopkeepers, induſtrious Tradeſmen, and uſeful Mechanics.—A Diſtrict, I ſay, which was a wide Waſte and Deſolation before.

MOREOVER, each Gentleman's Eſtate might be adorned with Plantations of Planes and Poplars, Withies and other Trees, which delight in a moiſt Situation;—and theſe might be ſo placed round the Trenches on the Confines of their Eſtates, that no Ground would be really loſt, but all contribute both to Uſe and Beauty. Indeed the Trenches would require to be new dug every three or four Years, but the Expence would not be very great, and the rich Mould taken out, would both ſerve to manure the Surface, and to raiſe it. As to the great Canal, and the great Reſervoir, theſe two would anſwer all the Purpoſes of an inland Navigation; and the grand Reſervoir, in which there would be no Neceſſity of ſteeping Flax, might be well ſtocked with various kinds of Pond Fiſh.

SECTION V.

A Polity for creating a Plenty of Timber.

THE Neceſſity of eſtabliſhing ſuch a Polity in every Commercial and Maritime State muſt certainly be very great, and the Reaſons for it are ſtrong and cogent.—But yet theſe Reaſons, in my humble Opinion, are ſomewhat different from what are generally imagined.

FOR

For firſt, though it is the received Opinion, That the Quantity of Timber in this Iſland hath greatly decreaſed of late Years, and that the preſent Scarcity and Dearneſs are to be aſcribed to that Cauſe; yet, with due Deference to the public Judgment, I apprehend, That it is not quite ſo clear, that the *Quantity* is diminiſhed, as that the *Demand* is increaſed; and therefore, that the Scarcity and Dearneſs of the Commodity are properly to be aſcribed to the prodigious Increaſe of the Demand. But as this is very far from being the generally received Notion, let us endeavour to examine the Matter with the more Accuracy. Be it therefore remembered, That, in antient Times, the different Parts of this Kingdom, like every other uncultivated Country, were quite upon the Extremes in regard to Wood. For where the Timber grew naturally, without Care or Culture, there the Country was covered with a thick impenetrable Foreſt of many Miles extent: But on the other Hand, where the Soil was not naturally diſpoſed for Timber (tho' Trees might have been raiſed by means of ſkilful Huſbandry, proper Shelter and Incloſures) in thoſe Parts, I ſay, the Scene was quite the reverſe. This being the Caſe, it muſt certainly follow, That almoſt all ſorts of heathy Grounds, chalky, gravelly, and flinty Commons, high Uplands, wild Downs, Fens and Swamps, beſides all Places expoſed to the Air of the Sea, were very naked and bare of Trees. Whereas, in modern Times, theſe Things are brought more to a Medium: For excellent Graſs and Corn are raiſed in many Places where nothing but Wood grew formerly: And on the other Hand, ſince ſo many Fens and Marſhes have been drained, ſince heathy Grounds, Commons, Uplands, and Downs have been incloſed and cultivated, the Numbers of Viſtas, Clumps, Plantations, Parks, Groves, Gardens, Walks, Hedge Rows, Orchards, *&c.* have greatly increaſed the Quantity of Trees:— So that perhaps, when one thing is weighed with the other, it will not be found, that the real Quantity of Timber hath ſo much decreaſed as People do haſtily imagine. And this will farther appear by conſidering the Subject in another Light, *viz.* That the preſent Scarcity of Wood is really owing to the prodigious Multiplication of its Uſes of late Years: For if the Maſs of the People were to uſe no more Timber in their Shipping, Houſes, Furniture, Utenſils, Manufactures, Mines, Iron Works, *&c. &c.* than their Forefathers did about ſeven hundred Years ago, the preſent Quantity of Timber would be ſo far from being inſufficient to the Demand, that it would be really a Drug. But the Truth is, that though perhaps the Number of People is not ſix Times greater than in the Reign of *Henry* II. the Uſes and Application of Timber are

certainly

certainly ſix hundred Times more.—In ſhort, if you were to ſuppoſe, that all the common and middling People of *England* conſumed no more Timber at preſent than the Highlanders of *Scotland*, and the old Natives of *Ireland* now do in building and furniſhing their Huts and Cabbins, and that they had no more Shipping, Trade and Manufactures, you would ſoon find, that there would be Timber enough in this Iſland, and to ſpare.

SECONDLY, Though it is a Notion almoſt univerſally received, that *Engliſh* Oak is the beſt in the World for building Ships of War, and though it is the vulgar Opinion, that the *Britiſh* Fleet acquires a Superiority over all others by means of the ſuperior Qualities of *Britiſh* Oak; yet theſe Opinions having no Foundation in Reaſon and Nature, ought to be rejected by Men of Senſe as VULGAR ERRORS. For it is impoſſible that *Engliſh* Oak can be fit for building large Ships of War, inaſmuch as *Engliſh* Timber never can arrive at a Size large enough for that Purpoſe till it is paſt its Prime, and is decaying and periſhing with Age. Indeed the *Engliſh* Oak may ſerve for *Ribs* and *croſs Timbers* as well as any other: But as to the *outward Planks*, or Sides of the Ship, that *Engliſh* Oak cannot ſerve for theſe Purpoſes, will appear both from the Reaſonings, and Authority of the following Paper, taken from the Memoirs of Mr *Pepys*, Secretary to the Admiralty.

" RESOLUTIONS taken at a Conference held at the Office
" of the Navy, *April* 17, 1686, between His Majeſty's Commiſ-
" ſioners there, and us the underwritten Shipwrights, upon In-
" quiries then propoſed by the Secretary of the Admiralty on the
" Behalf of His Majeſty, touching the preſent Condition of this
" Kingdom in reference to Plank for Ship-building."

" INQUIRY I. How far may it be depended on, that *England* may
" at this Day ſupply itſelf with a Sufficiency of that Commodity, for
" anſwering the Occaſions both of the Merchants and His Majeſty's
" Service (in the State the Royal Navy now is) without foreign Helps?"

" RESOLUTION. That it is in no wiſe to be relied on: Foraſmuch
" as from the Want of Plank of our own Growth, and conſequently
" the Highneſs of the Price of what we have, the Shipwrights of this
" Kingdom (even in our Out-Ports, as well as in the River of *Thames*)
" have been for many Years paſt driven to reſort to Supplies from
" Abroad; and are ſo at this Day, to the occaſioning their ſpending of
" one

" one hundred Loads of foreign, for every twenty of *Engliſh*. Be-
" ſides, were our own Stock more, the Excluſion of foreign Goods
" would ſoon render the Charge of Building inſupportable, by raiſing
" the Price of the Commodity to double what it is, and more, at the
" Pleaſure of the Seller."

" INQUIRY II. From whence is the beſt foreign Plank underſtood
" to be brought?"

" RESOLUTION. Either out of the Eaſt Sea, from *Dantzick*, *Quin-
" borough* or *Riga*; of the Growth of *Poland* or *Pruſſia*; or from *Ham-
" burgh*, namely, that Sort thereof which is ſhipped from thence, of
" the Growth of *Bohemia*, diſtinguiſhed by its Colour, as being much
" more black than the other, and rendered ſo (as is ſaid) by its long
" ſobbing in the Water during its Paſſage thither."

" INQUIRY III. What Proportion this foreign Plank may be reck-
" oned to bear to the *Engliſh*?"

" RESOLUTION. For ſo much as concerns ſmaller Veſſels, of four-
" ſcore Tons downwards, whoſe Works call for not more than two-
" inch Plank, of twenty Foot long at the higheſt, meeting at thirteen
" or fourteen Inches in breath, our *Engliſh* Plank will, from the Na-
" ture of the Wood, *laſt longer* than any foreign of the ſame Dimen-
" ſions. But [*Note*,] for Ships of *three hundred Tons upwards*, which
" require the Service of three or four-inch Plank, from twenty ſix to
" forty Foot long, meeting at fourteen or fifteen Inches breadth at the
" Top-End, *univerſal Practice* ſhews, that the white Crown Plank of
" *Pruſſia*, and the forementioned black of *Bohemia*, do in their *dura-
" bleneſs* equal, or rather *exceed* that of our *Engliſh* Productions of the
" like Dimenſions: Which we conceive to ariſe from this plain Rea-
" ſon, *viz.* That the foreign Oak being of much quicker growth than
" ours, their Trees arrive at a Stature capable of yielding Plank of
" theſe Meaſures, while they are yet in their ſound and vigorous State
" of growing; whereas that of *England*, advancing in its Growth more
" ſlowly, arrives not at theſe Dimenſions, till it becomes to, or rather is
" paſt the full of its Strength; fifty Years ſufficing for raiſing the foreign,
" to what the *Engliſh* will not be brought in an hundred and fifty. But
" whether we are right or not in this Reaſoning, it is, upon *daily Ex-
" perience*, moſt evident, that our *Eaſt India* and other Ships of *great-
" eſt* Burden, built with this large foreign Plank well choſen, *prove in*

" *their*

" *their Durableneſs without Exception*:—Variety of Inſtances lying be-
" fore us of Ships built wholly of *Engliſh* Stuff, as well in His Ma-
" jeſty's Yards, as Merchants, which *have periſhed in half the Time*,
" others of the like Burden, compoſed wholly of foreign have been ob-
" ſerved to do."

" ALSO it is, that *Engliſh* Plank of *ſhort length*, cut out of *young*,
" growing Timber, is manifeſtly better than Eaſt Country, and there-
" fore is preferred thereto in laying of a Gun-Deck, as far as the three
" Streaks next the Ship's Sides, where ſhort Stuff will ſerve (the Qua-
" lity of its Wood bearing better with being kept wet and dry, as it
" generally is in that Place) yet where, upon the ſame Gun-Deck, long
" Plank is neceſſary, that of foreign Growth, for *Strength* and *Dura-
" tion*, is always preferred, from the Reaſon, as we conceive, before
" given; *viz.* That of its being cut while in its Vigour, which the
" *Engliſh* will not admit ſo as to bear thoſe Scantlings. And to this is
" to be farther added the general Wanineſs, want of Breadth at the
" Top-End, and ill Method of Converſion of our *Engliſh* Plank; daily
" Practice ſhewing, that twenty Loads of foreign, ſhall, in working
" go further upon a Ship's Side, or Deck, than an hundred Loads of
" the like Lengths of *Engliſh*, after its Wanes, and other Defects ſhall
" be cut away."

" MOREOVER, it is yet to be noted, That in planking of a Ship
" with foreign Plank, the Builder ſhall not be driven to put in above
" three or four Pieces; whereas in a like Ship, done with *Engliſh*, he
" ſhall be obliged to uſe an hundred, to the *no leſs Impairment of the
" Strength of the Work*, than Increaſe of its Charge both in Stuff and
" Labour. So that upon the Whole, our UNANIMOUS OPINION is,
" That large Plank well choſen, of the foreign Growths before men-
" tioned is, in its Service, *at leaſt as durable*, in its Coſt *leſs chargeable*,
" and the Uſe of it, through the Scarcity of *Engliſh*, become at this
" Day *indiſpenſable*.

" *Jonas Shiſh, Hen. Johnſon, Pet. Narberry, Abr. Greaves,*
" *Joſ. Lawrence, John Shiſh, Jam. Yeames, Wm Collint,*
" *Rob. Caſtel.*

" WE do fully concur in the Reſolutions above written.

" A. DEAN,	J. NARBOROUGH,
" J. BERRY,	PH. PET,
" WILL. HEWER,	B. S. MITCHEL.

NOW

Now from this, and the former State of the Caſe, it appears very clearly, That the preſent Scarcity of Timber ariſes, *principally* at leaſt, from the increaſed Demand; and that this increaſed Demand is chiefly owing to the ſuperior Numbers of People, and to the rapid Progreſs which the Inhabitants of this Iſland have lately made in almoſt all Arts and Sciences, Trades and Manufactures. Conſequently it muſt follow, That in proportion as the Country ſhall ſtill grow more populous, and make farther Advances in the Arts and Ornaments of Living, the Demand for Timber will ſtill increaſe, and our preſent Neceſſities will yet be greater. Moreover as to Shipping and Navigation, though it hath been fully proved, that the *Engliſh* Plank is not fit for building large Ships of War, and conſequently that our wooden Walls, ſo much our Glory, are not altogether *Engliſh*; yet the ſame Judges have declared, that *Engliſh* Oak is particularly excellent for Ships of a ſmall Burden:—Nay they give plain Hints, that the Plank will ſerve very well for any Ships not exceeding two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Tons. Now the far greater Part of the Shipping imployed in the Merchants Service, and all the Coaſting Veſſels, are within the Dimenſions here preſcribed. And as to the Royal Navy itſelf, though the Planks muſt be Foreign, the Ribs and Knees, and crooked Timbers, might all be *Engliſh*;—and ſuch *Engliſh* as need not exceed their prime State of growing, when cut down. So that upon the whole, after vulgar Errors are ſet aſide, there are ſtill Reaſons ſufficiently ſtrong and cogent (and ſurely they ought not to be the leſs convincing, becauſe they are *true)* for incouraging the Growth of all Sorts of Timber as much as poſſible, and Oak particularly. In a word, Timber is a *raw Material*, whoſe Demand is increaſing, and whoſe Uſes are multiplying every Day.

HENCE therefore it is natural to aſk, How comes it to paſs, that Self-Love, the grand Mover of *created* Beings, ſhould want an Incitement in this Caſe more than in any others? For when the Demand increaſes, the Price increaſes likewiſe: And if the Price is inhanced, is not this itſelf a ſufficient Spur for planting Timber, without any other political Inforcement? To this I anſwer, That if planting of Timber was of the ſame Nature with raiſing of Corn or Cattle, or ingaging in Merchandiſe or Manufactures, the Reaſoning would hold true. For certainly there is no need of any Inducement but Self-Intereſt, where Self-Intereſt can properly take place. But in the Caſe before us, the Misfortune is, that he who plants, unleſs he begins very young, cannot expect to reap much Benefit in his own Perſon: For Trees are of a

ſlower Growth than Corn; and a Plantation of Foreſt Timber will recompenſe the Grandſon, inſtead of the Planter. This being the Caſe, it is very obvious, that *preſent* Self-Love is as much the ruling Paſſion in this Delay or Omiſſion of planting Timber, as it is in any other: And therefore we may venture to foretel, That till a different Direction can be given to this ruling Paſſion, no Scheme or Propoſal, no Law or Regulation will ever prove effectual. In ſhort, we muſt take human Nature as we find it; and make the beſt Uſes of it we can. And therefore, if we really expect a Growth of Timber equal to the Demands of a Maritime and Commercial People, we muſt come to the Point; That is, we muſt render it the *preſent* and *immediate* Self-Intereſt of every conſiderable Land-Owner in the Kingdom to make Plantations.

Now theſe Plantations ought never to be leſs, but as much more as the Owner ſhall pleaſe, than twenty Acres well fenced and incloſed: Becauſe a leſs Plantation, if near the Sea, or on a bleak, high Ground, is in danger of being deſtroyed by high Winds, and the Extremity of Weather: Whereas in a large Plantation one Tree ſhelters another, and all are preſerved. And this Obſervation holds *particularly* true on the Sea-Coaſts; where if you plant one, or ten, or perhaps an hundred Trees, they will come to nothing; ſuch is the blighting Nature of the Sea Air: But if you plant a thouſand, the outermoſt Ranks may perhaps be ſhrivelled, but in proportion as you advance inwards, the Trees will appear healthy and flouriſhing: An ocular Demonſtration of which may be had at the Hill above *Margum* Houſe in *Glamorganſhire*, and at Mount *Edgecombe* in *Cornwall*.—Though indeed the ſafeſt Way in all Caſes, where either the Soil, or Situation is not kindly diſpoſed for Timber (after having prepared the Ground, and laid out proper Spaces for Walks and Avenues) is, to ſow Acorns, and all Sorts of Timber Seeds together, in order that Nature, in ſuch a Variety, may take her Choice. And then, when theſe young Plants come up, they will be a mutual Screen and Defence to each other; and as they advance in Growth, may be tranſplanted, or thinned out at Pleaſure.—So much as to the Reaſons for allotting twenty Acres at leaſt to every Plantation near the Sea, and upon bleak Expoſures: And indeed in every Situation a Grove of twenty Acres is not too large: But will be found to be much more commodious, when proper Allowances are made for Walks and void Spaces, in order that Carriages may paſs and repaſs, and that the Underwood may be cleaned out, and made into Charcoal;—I ſay, ſuch a Plantation will be found much more commodious to the Owner,

Owner, and advantageous to the Growth of Trees, than one of a leſs Size.

BUT the Polity itſelf for inforcing theſe Regulations, by taking ſtrong hold on the Paſſion of Self-Love, and giving it the *uſeful Direction*, hath not yet been mentioned. Suppoſe therefore, That every Land-Owner for each Quantity of four hundred Acres that he poſſeſſes within one Pariſh, Tithing, or Hundred, ſhould be obliged by Law to allot twenty Acres for making a Plantation of Timber under the following Penalties, *viz.*

1. THAT he ſhould pay double Land-Tax for all his Eſtate ſituated in that Pariſh, Tithing, or Hundred, till he hath made as many Timber Plantations, as he had four hundred Acres.

2. THAT he ſhould pay likewiſe double Window-Tax for all his Houſes upon that Eſtate, without receiving any Allowance for thoſe Cottages, or ſmall Tenements, which have not *nine* Windows.

3. THAT he ſhould pay double to the Poor-Tax, and to every other Parochial, Hundred, or County Tax, aſſeſſed on Lands or Houſes, till he complies with the Terms here required.

4. THAT all reaſonable Expences in making and preſerving theſe Plantations ſhould be allowed by Minors to their Guardians in paſſing their Accounts; moreover that every Huſband holding an Eſtate during the Life of his Wife, ſhould be permitted to charge the Eſtate with *two thirds* of the Expence hence occaſioned, in caſe he ſurvives her; but if a Perſon is Tenant only for his own Life, then he may be allowed to charge no more than *one third* of this Expence as a Debt on the Eſtate, payable to his Repreſentative, or Heir at Law.

NOW, when all theſe Clauſes are operating jointly together, it is humbly conceived, that they muſt be effectual: For every Man would feel himſelf ſtrongly diſpoſed to concur with the public-ſpirited Deſigns of the Legiſlature, rather than bring ſo many Inconveniencies immediately upon himſelf by his Refuſal: Preſent Self-Intereſt therefore would teach him this Leſſon without Art or Logic. And thus might almoſt every Pariſh be adorned with Groves, and be inriched, as well as beautified; and the whole Kingdom, equally throughout, receive as full a ſupply of Timber, as could reaſonably be expected. For it may be computed, that after Allowances are made for all Eſtates under four hundred Acres, and for ſuch likewiſe as are above four hundred, but ſhort of eight hundred, and ſo on,—I ſay, after theſe Allowances, it may fairly be computed, that for every thouſand Acres of Land thro'-out the Kingdom, twenty Acres will be ſtocked with Timber; which

Proportion amounts to juſt a fiftieth Part of the whole; and would certainly be ſufficient for the Demand. And to aſcertain the Nature of theſe Plantations, ſo as to prevent litigious Diſputes, it might be enacted, That a certain Period, ſuppoſe *twelve Years*, ſhall be allowed, from the Date of the Act, for making theſe Plantations, and for the Growing of the Trees; and that, *at all Times*, after that Period, every good Incloſure of twenty Acres or upwards, wherein are growing at leaſt four hundred Saplings or young Timber, ſhall be adjudged to be a ſufficient Plantation, within the Intentions of this Act. Now this being the Caſe, every Man will have a plain Rule to walk by; and therefore, if he will not comply with it, he has none to blame but himſelf. And as this would be the Rule of judging, What was a legal or Parliamentary Plantation, and what was not, the ſame might ſerve, in caſe a Perſon was diſpoſed to change one Plantation for another: For every new Plantation with four hundred Saplings would be a ſufficient Security againſt the Penalties of the Law. And when once the Plantation is ſet out, it would be the Proprietor's own Intereſt to make it both as *profitable* and as *ornamental* as he could: For in ſuch a Caſe, he would need no farther Incitement.

Now though this Polity appears under ſomewhat of a different Aſpect from any of the former, by carrying the Air of *Force* and *Compulſion*, yet in Fact it can hurt none, but the moſt obſtinate of Men. For the Expence of making ſuch a Plantation would be inconſiderable in itſelf; and as it would fall on Perſons of reſpectable Landed Property, it could ſcarcely be felt: Nay, though a Man might not live to be himſelf a Gainer, his Heirs or Repreſentatives infallibly muſt; and if even *he* was obliged to ſell the Eſtate, it would ſell the better. The Rich therefore, who are the Perſons immediately concerned, cannot be ſaid to be hurt by ſuch a Law; becauſe it only would ſpur them on to do thoſe Things, which they ought to have done without Compulſion. And if Benevolence to the Public, the Love of their own Families, and the Deſire of doing Good to Poſterity, had been ſo prevalent with the Bulk of Mankind, as *Self*-Attachments and *preſent* Gratifications, there would have been no more need to have made a Law of this Nature, than there is to oblige Men to eat, or ſleep.—But, waving this, if the Rich would not be hurt, nay, in Fact, would be greatly benefited in the Courſe of Things, by ſuch a Law; the Poor, the middling Sort, the Mechanic, the Manufacturer, the Merchant, and in ſhort, all Orders and Degrees of Men whatever, would likewiſe reap the Advantage; Iron-Works might then be erected in almoſt every Pariſh

Pariſh or Hundred, if there were Occaſion; Ships mght be built in every Port, and Flotes of Timber might be brought down all our Rivers.

SECTION VI.

A Polity for Regiſtring the Title Deeds of Houſes and Landed Eſtates.

THIS is a Subject, on which very little need be ſaid: For the Caſe is ſo plain, That every Man who buys an Eſtate, or lends Money upon it, ought to have a good Title, that it would be the Height of Folly to pretend to illuſtrate the Matter, or make it plainer. All therefore that is to be done, is to point out the true Reaſon, why ſome Perſons are ſo averſe to a Regiſter, and then to ſhew, how their Oppoſition may be diſarmed, and yet the Thing effected.

As to the Cauſe of their Averſion, it is plainly this, Either their Eſtates are incumbered with Mortgages, Settlements, Jointures, Annuities, *&c.* *&c.* and then perhaps they may want to borrow more upon them by means of double Deeds;—or elſe their Titles are not ſo clear as they could wiſh, and therefore they are deſirous of concealing this Flaw from the World. Now both theſe Circumſtances are the ſtrongeſt Reaſons imaginable for the Neceſſity of a Regiſter, and plainly ſhew the Uſe and Advantage of it. But the more cogent theſe Reaſons are, the more violent will be the Oppoſition from all thoſe who have cauſe to fear a Diſcovery. And therefore it ſeems morally impoſſible to get ſuch a Law to be paſt, were it to oblige all Perſons to come in, and regiſter their Title Deeds directly.

BUT what cannot be done at once, may be done gradually; and though a ſtrong Oppoſition would certainly be made in the one Caſe, perhaps there would be very little, or none at all in the other. Suppoſe therefore a Law was enacted, to make Marriage Settlements, Sales, Mortgages, *&c.* not be deemed valid *for the future*, unleſs they were regiſtered among the County Records. Now ſuch a Proviſion, reſpecting only Futurity, would not be much oppoſed by the preſent Generation; and yet in a ſhort Space of Time it would operate as effectually, as if all Deeds were regiſtred at once. For every Year and every Month would add ſome Eſtate or other to the Number of the regiſtred ones; and when ſuch Eſtates became the greater Number, the reſt of the County, finding the Advantages of a Regiſter, and the Diſadvantages of borrowing Money, buying or ſelling an Eſtate without one, would voluntarily inroll their Title Deeds, and do that by Choice, which they would not do by Compulſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Certain Polities for the Increaſe and Improvement of Manufactures.

IT hath been obſerved before, Page 41, " That all Commercial Im-
" ployment may be divided into two Kinds, *Huſbandry* and *Me-*
" *chanic Arts*; the immediate Object of the one being to provide
" *Food*, and that of the other to procure *Raiment* and *Dwelling*: And
" from the *Concurrence* and *Modifications* of theſe three, *viz.* Food
" Raiment, and Dwelling, every other Trade, Calling, and Profeſſion,
" derives its Origin and Support." For even the liberal Arts themſelves, and all the literary Profeſſions could never have exiſted, had it not been, that the Labour of the Huſbandman, and the Skill and Induſtry of the Mechanic Artificer had firſt ſupplied the Scholar, the Philoſopher, and Man of Contemplation, with the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Living. It hath been likewiſe farther obſerved, " That the *Landed* and the *Trading* Intereſts, or in other Words, that
" the Huſbandman and the Artificer, are the *mutual Cuſtomers* to each
" other, the one being the reſpective Maker, and the other the Con-
" ſumer." Hence therefore it ſhould follow, That in proportion as any Nation improves in either of theſe, it improves likewiſe in the other; and if ſo, then we muſt conclude, that the Polities in the foregoing Chapter for the Increaſe and Improvement of Huſbandry, become in the Event ſo many Polities for the Extenſion of Commerce and increaſing the Number of Artificers and Tradeſmen. And indeed theſe Conſequences will neceſſarily follow, if all Obſtacles are removed out of the way; but if Things are diverted from their natural Courſe by the Miſtakes or ſiniſter Arts of Mankind, the good Conſequences will always be leſſened in Proportion to the Number, and Nature of ſuch Obſtructions.

THIS being the Caſe, it is obvious to remark, That the Buſineſs and Aim of the inſuing Sections, muſt be to remove thoſe Obſtructions which impede the *induſtrious* and *uſeful* Operations of Self-Love, and to ſet Mankind and Nature FREE:—Free, I mean, in that Senſe in which conſiſts our true Liberty. For if Self-Love is *reſtrained* from doing Good to Society, it will do Miſchief; and if prevented from doing Miſchief, it will do Good. Hence therefore the Phyſician to the Body

Body Politic may learn to imitate the Conduct of the Phyſician to the Body Natural, in removing thoſe Diſorders which a bad Habit, or a wrong Treatment hath brought upon the Conſtitution; and then to leave the reſt to Nature, who beſt can do her own Work. For after the Conſtitution is reſtored to the Uſe and Exerciſe of its proper Faculties and natural Powers, it would be as wrong to multiply Laws relating to Commerce, as it would be to be for ever preſcribing Phyſic.

One Thing more I have to add, by way of Preface or Introduction, *viz.* That the Terms *Mechanic Trades* and *Manufactures*, here made uſe of, are to be underſtood in their largeſt and moſt extenſive Signification: And therefore every Branch of Commercial Induſtry, even Shipping and Navigation, muſt be ſuppoſed to be comprehended under theſe Articles. But if any Perſon ſhould object to this Method, and chooſe rather to ſay, That Shipping and Navigation ought to be conſidered as the *primary* Objects of our Attention, becauſe we are a maritime People; To ſuch an one I muſt beg leave to make this ſhort Apology, *viz.* That in a ſyſtematical Treatiſe it would ſeem very preposterous to begin with that Article firſt, which is the laſt in the Order of Succeſſion: And therefore as Shipping and Navigation are only Sea-Carriage, they muſt *pre-ſuppoſe*, in the very Nature of the Thing, that there are Goods firſt to be carried.

SECTION I.

A Polity for opening ſuch excluſive Companies, as relate principally to our Home-Trade, or Domeſtic Commerce.

WHEN a Set of Families, be they many or few in Number, are under the ſame Legiſlature, and conſtitute one People or political Society, the Commerce carried on between the Members of this State among themſelves, is called *internal* or *domeſtic:* But when they trafic with the Subjects of different States or Legiſlatures, ſuch Intercourſe with other Nations, and exchange of Commodities, is termed *Foreign Commerce.* Hence therefore it is very apparent, that the Ideas of Foreign and Domeſtic Commerce do not ariſe from the *Diſtance* or *Nearneſs* of Situation of one Place to another, but from the *different Legiſlatures* which theſe Places may be reſpectively under. For when Goods are ſent from *Dover* acroſs the narrow Streight to *Calais*, ſuch Goods are ſaid to be *exported*, i. e. carried to a foreign Country; but if ſhipped off from *London* to *Newcaſtle*, they are only reputed as carried

ried Coaſt-wiſe, though more than fifty times as far. This Obſervation is yet ſtrengthened by conſidering, that before the Union of *North* with *South Britain*, the Trade to *Scotland*, though at no greater Diſtance than croſſing a River, was a Branch of Foreign Commerce, and ſo reputed by the Laws of both Kingdoms.—Nay, the Trade to *Ireland* is ſtill conſidered in that diſadvantageous Light, and conſequently diſcouraged by hundreds of prohibitory Laws ſtill in being, merely forſooth becauſe theſe neighbouring Iſlands happen to be under Legiſlatures in ſome Reſpects different, though the general Government is the ſame, and the Intereſts both of Church and State, are the ſame likewiſe. However, ſince Things are in this Situation, our firſt Concern ſhould be to ſet that Trade *free*, which circulates, or might circulate at Home, and then to extend our Attention to thoſe Fabrics and Commodities which are, or might be exported Abroad.

Now any Trade may be ſaid to be FREE, in which every Perſon may ingage if he pleaſes: And conſequently thoſe Trades are really *confined*, where the Liberty of exerciſing them is denied to ſome, tho' granted to others; or where the Expence and Difficulties of obtaining this Liberty, are a great Burden and Diſcouragement. And therefore two Queſtions naturally ariſe on this Subject, *viz. Firſt*, What Trades ought to be free and unreſtrained? And *ſecondly*, What *Means* are the moſt deſireable, and the leaſt obnoxious to popular Prejudices towards obtaining this Freedom? As to the firſt, can it once be made a Doubt, whether ſuch Trades ought to be free, as tend to create *mutual Imployment* for Mankind, and to promote uſeful Induſtry and commendable Labour?—Surely it is impoſſible to conceive *(Self-Intereſt apart)* that any Trades deſerve to be diſcouraged by a wiſe Government, but thoſe only which adminiſter Temptations to Vice and Idleneſs: For all others are an abſolute Benefit to Society; and the more free and unconfined they are, the greater and more univerſal is this Benefit. If therefore thoſe Trades ought to be free, whoſe Extenſion and Increaſe are a public Advantage, we are now to conſider in the ſecond Place, what Means would be the moſt eligible for obtaining this End.

ALL Liberty may be conſidered in two Views, Civil, or Religious: Religious Liberty, otherwiſe called Liberty of Conſcience, is that whereby a Perſon is permitted to exerciſe his *own Judgment* in the Choice of his *own Religion*, and conſequently to worſhip God in that manner which he believes to be moſt acceptable to the divine Being. This is certainly a Privilege which every Man hath a Right to enjoy, provided his religious Tenets cauſe no Diſturbance to Civil Society, and

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are not repugnant to good Morals. And this Right we of *Great Britain* do now poſſeſs in as reaſonable and ample a Manner, as can be deſired. Nothing therefore is to be ſuggeſted in relation to this Article, as a Matter of Complaint, but of Commendation. For the Contemplation of it ſhould inſpire us with Praiſe and Gratitude, firſt to God, and then to his ſubordinate Agents.—And indeed, as the Ways and Syſtems of Providence are all uniform, and co-operating with each other, this Liberty of Conſcience, ſo juſtifiable upon a religious Account, is not only compatible with, but greatly conduce to the Extenſion of Trade and Commerce. Whereas, on the contrary, it hath been the Obſervation of many Ages, that Bigotry and Induſtry, Manufactures and Perſecution, cannot poſſibly ſubſiſt together, or cohabit in the ſame Country.—So far as to that Liberty, which is termed Religious.

And as to *Civil* Liberty, we joyfully acknowledge with all Thankfulneſs, that in regard to the Crown and Government, never were a People more free than the *Engliſh* at this Juncture. But alas! though we are emancipated from the former Yoke of oppreſſive Power in one Senſe, we are ſtill Slaves to it in another: And, what is very aſtoniſhing, we now tamely ſubmit to that *Uſurpation* of our natural Rights from our Fellow-Subjects, which we would not bear from a crowned Head. The Nation, for inſtance, would riſe as one Man, ſhould the Crown attempt at this Day to exerciſe the *Prerogative* (as it did formerly) over the *natural* Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, by preſcribing what particular Perſons ſhould exerciſe ſuch and ſuch Trades, and who ſhould not,—by ſearching their Houſes and taking away their Goods, under a Pretence that they were not made after a Workman-like Manner,—by ſtopping them from purſuing their honeſt Callings any longer,—by levying Fines and inflicting Penalties,—and doing other like Acts of deſpotic Violence and Oppreſſion:—Such a Proceeding, I ſay, would raiſe a general Horror and Indignation: And yet, Reader, theſe very Powers derived originally from the Crown, and varniſhed over with the deluſive Appearance of Charters and Corporations, are exerciſed every Day, not only with Impunity, but with Applauſe. You will pleaſe to obſerve, that they are the ſame Powers ſtill: For, in Fact, the whole Difference conſiſts in the Perſons, that are to execute them. Thus it is, that if the Crown ſhould commiſſion any Perſons to ſee them put in Execution, *as from itſelf*, this would be eſteemed, and juſtly too, a very high Infringement on Men's natural Rights and Liberties: For ſurely nothing can be plainer, than that every Man hath a Right *by Nature* to ſubſiſt himſelf, by his own Labour and Induſtry, in *any*

way that is compatible with the Good of the Whole; for this is the *only Limitation* that ſhould take Place: And the Common Law of the Land not only agrees with, but greatly inforces this Doctrine. But lo! theſe very Powers, ſhocking and oppreſſive as they are, intirely change both their Names and Natures, when deputed to a Set of our Fellow-Subjects, and exerciſed by them, under the fooliſh and fallacious Pretence of *ſupporting* their PRIVILEGES. Such is the Force of Cuſtom! Such the Deluſion of Words and Sounds! The *perſecuted* Perſon, who was inriching both his Country and himſelf by his Genius and Induſtry, is by a Jury found *Guilty*; the oppreſſive, incorporated Drones, and injurious Monopoliſts are ſtiled the *Injured* and the *Innocent*.—In ſhort, the plain Rules of common Juſtice, common Honeſty, common Senſe, good Government, and national Commerce,—are one thing in *Weſtminſter* and *Southwark*, and quite the Reverſe within the Liberties of the City of *London*.

Now when Nonſenſe and Abſurdity, when bad Polity and Injuſtice have gained an Eſtabliſhment, and are covered over with the ſacred Duſt of Time, many Perſons will always be found, whoſe ſuppoſed Intereſt, or real Inclination it is to defend them. And thus it hath happened in the Caſe before us: For a Multitude of Arguments have been coined to gloſs over thoſe Practices, which, if they had not been introduced in the Ages of Ignorance, Tyranny, and Barbarity, and ſettled by long Cuſtom, would now have been deteſted by all the World.—However, as they have at preſent a kind of preſcriptive Right, let us hear what can be offered in their Defence.

I. THEREFORE, It is pretended, that theſe Incorporated Societies were right at the Time of their original Inſtitution, in order to keep up the Goods to a Standard, and to ſupport the Credit of the Manufacture.

1*ſt Anſwer*, WHOEVER will be at the Pains to inquire into the Origin of theſe Grants, and to trace the Motives both of Granters, and Grantees, will find, That the Improvement of Commerce, and the Perfection of Mechanic Arts, were no Part of their Intention. For the Perſons, to whom theſe Excluſions were granted, acted upon as baſe and diſingenuous Motives, as ever diſgraced human Nature: Their Deſigns were to exclude all Competitors, to monopolize the Trade into a few Hands, and to oblige the Buyer to take what they would pleaſe to ſell him, however *dear*, or *bad*. And as to the Princes who granted theſe Privileges, they frequently ſold them, as Goods in a Market, to the higheſt Bidder.

Bidder. For the Royal Prerogative was then ſo high and uncontrolable in Things of this Nature, that all Law and Parliament bowed before it: And therefore, if at any Time the Parliament did not readily grant Money in the ordinary Way, this Method always occurred to ſupply a preſent Pinch. Moreover, the Favourites and Courtiers of the Times had by means of theſe *Jobbs*, a Power of inriching themſelves, without draining any thing out of the Royal Coffers.—But if any one ſhould yet doubt of the real Intentions of theſe Monopoliſts, in regard to Commerce and Manufactures, he need only read the Form of thoſe horrid Oaths, which they obliged their Fellow-Subjects to take before they would admit them to be free of their Incorporated Societies. This is enough;—but if he hath a Mind to ſearch farther into theſe Iniquities, he may conſult *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, Sir *Simon Dewes*'s Journal of the Houſe of Commons during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Townſhend*'s Hiſtorical Collection of her four laſt Parliaments, the Preambles of ſeveral of the Statutes at Large, and other Tracts of the like Nature.

2*d Anſwer*, THE very Notion of keeping Manufactures up to a Standard is abſurd and ridiculous; for different Nations, Countries, and Climates, different Ages, Sexes, and Stations, different Times and Seaſons of the Year, different Cuſtoms and Caprices, and conſequently *different Prices* require different Sorts of Goods. And every Manufacturer muſt, and will endeavour to ſuit his Fabrics to the Taſte, or Pocket of his Cuſtomers, let the Standard be what it will. In ſhort, who can pretend to fix that Standard, which muſt alter with every Faſhion, and vary as often as the Whims and Humours, the Abilities and Inclinations of Mankind differ from themſelves, and from each other.—Therefore if the Goods have no hidden Flaw and Imperfection, and if they are intrinſically as valuable as they appear to be, they have all the Qualities which the Nature of the Thing will admit of. But ſuppoſe they ſhould have ſome concealed Fault or Blemiſh, then, I aſk, are the Wardens and Maſters of Companies the proper Perſons for detecting theſe Frauds? Will theſe Men, who have their own Wares to ſell, will they impeach themſelves for making bad ones?—or indeed will they impeach a Brother of the *Craft*, who may ſoon be in Office, and will ſurely retaliate the Favour to them?—No; the Thing is incredible and abſurd: And Fact it is, that there have been more bad Goods manufactured and vended, *eſpecially for foreign Markets*, by ſuch as have born Offices in excluſive Companies, than by any other Set of Men whatever.

3*d Anſwer*, ALLOWING, for Argument ſake, that it is neceſſary to eſtabliſh, or continue theſe Incorporated Societies for the Purpoſes above mentioned, then it follows, *à fortiori*, as the Schoolmen ſpeak, that the like Incorporations ſhould be eſtabliſhed and continued for the due manufacturing of all other Commodities, which can be brought to a Standard, and are leaſt liable to the Changes and Alterations of Times and Faſhions. Butter and Cheeſe, for Inſtance, are valuable Commodities, and require much greater Skill and Ingenuity in the making them, than is neceſſary for practiſing ſeveral Mechanic Trades, which yet are dignified with excluſive Charters: Likewiſe the Taſte or Judgment for good Butter and Cheeſe is more general, fixed, and certain, than the Judgment for moſt other Manufactures. Suppoſe therefore, that a Company were erected for the proper making of Butter and Cheeſe; and that the Rulers of this *worſhipful Company* had a Power of ſearching for, and confiſcating all bad Butter and Cheeſe within twenty Miles of *London*; —How would the Maſters and Wardens of our preſent excluſive Companies like this? For this is their own Argument in the ſtrongeſt Senſe: And yet there is not a Man that breathes, that would expect to find theſe two Articles of Living either cheaper, or better by ſuch an Inſtitution.

4*th Anſwer*, BUT even granting (what is utterly falſe) that Mechanic Arts and Manufactures are to be improved by excluſive Charters; —ſtill what is that to other Trades, which do not make, but only ſell and retail theſe Manufactures? For though a Manufacturer muſt be incorporated, it doth not follow, that his *Broker* muſt: And, in Fact, all Shopkeepers and Retailers are nothing more than *Brokers* between the Manufacturer and the Buyer. Surely, by Parity of Reaſon, the Carrier, and the Carrier's Horſe, may as well put in their Claim for Charters and Excluſions; and upon the ſame wiſe Principle, a Law ought to be enacted, That for the due and proper Exerciſe of the Art or Myſtery of carrying Goods, and drawing a Load in a *Carrier-like* Manner, all the Horſes imployed therein, ſhall be Duns, Blacks, or Bays!

II. THE *ſecond* Pretence is, That excluſive Companies were neceſſary at firſt, in order to give proper Incouragement to ingenious Artiſts to ſettle among us.

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1ſt Anſwer, THIS Plea is more ridiculous, if poſſible, and more extravagant than any of the former. For the very Intention of an excluſive Company is to ſhut out Rivals, and to prevent, as far as may be, the very Poſſibility of Competitions. Where then can be the Motive to excel, when Emulation is ſtifled, and the idleſt Blockhead, if free of a Corporation, is preferred to the moſt ingenious and induſtrious Artiſt that is not free?—In ſhort, where Privileges and Charters are to determine the Merit of a Man's Performance, his chief Regards will be paid to *them*; and even if he ſhould happen to be endowed with brighter Parts, and a ſuperior Genius, his Ambition will not be called upon to exert them in ſuch a Situation.

2d Anſwer, As to the Incouraging of new Trades, it ought to be conſidered, that every Trade at its firſt Commencement, is properly in its infant State; which therefore during that Period muſt be *nurſed*; and all nurſing is attended with Expence. Now, if a new Trade is to be introduced at home, or a new Branch of Commerce is to be carried on abroad, there are two Ways of nurſing it, till it is able to ſhift for itſelf; *viz.* Firſt by granting a Charter to the firſt Artiſts at home, or to the firſt Adventurers abroad, and to their Succeſſors after them, with an Excluſion to all others; and ſecondly, To iſſue forth a general Invitation to all, and to advance ſuch Premiums or Bounties, as ſhall induce many Individuals, from Proſpects of Self-Intereſt, to ingage in it. This being the Caſe, let us now conſider which Method of Nurſing is the cheapeſt, and beſt? Which, for Example, will make the Child thrive faſteſt, or bring the Trade the ſpeedieſt to Perfection, ſo that it may no longer require the Support of Leading-ſtrings? Now in regard to the firſt Method,—Indeed, I own, that the excluſive Grant will always appear the cheapeſt to thoſe who do *not attend to the Nature of it*; but is in Fact the deareſt. For thoſe Taxes, which are raiſed by Monopoliſts and excluſive Companies, both in the Sale of their Goods, and in purchaſing from others, are the moſt grievous and detrimental of any that ever exiſted; inaſmuch as they nip Induſtry in the very Bud, and prevent that Circulation of *mutual* Labour and Imployment, in which conſiſt the Riches and Proſperity of a Kingdom. And as to the nurſing Part, to carry on the former Alluſion, it is neither their Intereſt, nor their Inclination, that the Child committed to their Care ſhould ſubſiſt without its Nurſe: For when the Excluſion is diſcontinued, and the Trade thrown open, their monopolizing Gains

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are gone. Therefore it is their Buſineſs to ſtint the Growth of this Trade, within ſuch Bounds as ſhall make the excluſive Charter *appear* ſtill neceſſary for carrying it on. On the contrary, when a new Trade is ſupported by Premiums and Bounties, the very additional Expence in one reſpect is more than *repaid* by the additional Increaſe of Labour and Induſtry, and conſequently of Riches in another. Moreover, as the Invitation is general, the Emulation will be ſo likewiſe; which is itſelf the beſt Guard againſt Combinations. Therefore as the Improvements come on, and the Trade extends, the Bounty or Premium may be proportionably diminiſhed; ſo that in a few Years this kind of nurſing may totally ceaſe. Nay, in a Courſe of Time, perhaps this Trade itſelf may bear a Tax in order to ſupport, and rear up other infant Trades, if ſuch a Proceeding is judged requiſite.—But indeed no Manufactures or Branches of Commerce ought to be burdened with Taxes, according to the Rules of ſound Polity, but thoſe only which adminiſter to Idleneſs, Pleaſures, and Diverſions. However, from the above State of the Caſe, we ſee plainly, that excluſive Companies, whether for a Foreign or Domeſtic Trade, are the worſt Nurſes in the World, as well as the moſt expenſive. And if from Theory we deſcend to Facts, the Proofs will appear in a very ſtriking Light. For in regard to Foreign Commerce, tho' there was a *Greenland* Company ſubſiſting for a great many Years, ſcarce any thing was done, and the little Quantity of Oil and Whalebone taken by them, was ſold at moſt exorbitant Prices. But when this Trade was thrown open, and a Bounty given, the Increaſe and Improvement, within a very ſhort Space, were aſtoniſhingly great and rapid; no leſs than eighty Sail of large, ſtout Ships (ſuch Ships as would have been judged fit to form a Line of Battle in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth)* having been fitted out in one Year, and that but a few Years diſtance from the Commencement of the Trade. And in reſpect to home Concerns, The City of *Worceſter* hath by its Situation on the *Severn*, and by every other natural Cauſe, greatly the Advantage over *Birmingham:* But *Worceſter* hath no Trade, and *Birmingham* a great deal; And why ſo?—*Worceſter* hath excluſive Charters, and *Birmingham* none at all.

III. The *third* Pretence is, That if it were not for excluſive Companies, there would be too many of a Trade:—The Trade would be over-done.

I. *Anſwer*, If ever the Tricks of *Legerdemain* impoſed upon the Eyes of Mankind, theſe Deluſions of excluſive Companies impoſe as much upon their Underſtandings. For, in Fact, when all the ſeveral Trades are under their reſpective Excluſions or Monopolies, (which is the very Caſe in regard to our *home* Trades) what Advantage hath one Set of Tradeſmen over another? And if all Trades are *mutually impeded* by theſe Reſtraints, what is the Conſequence, but mutual Poverty? Suppoſe, for Inſtance, any given Number of excluſive Companies living together within the Liberties of the City of *London*, viz. A Company of Bakers—Brewers—Taylors—Shoemakers—Carpenters—Maſons—Smiths—Grocers—Mercers, *&c. &c.* and that each of theſe ſhould reſolve to ſupport their *Privileges*, as they are pleaſed to call them, and to expel thoſe Tradeſmen who are not free:—The Bakers therefore begin with expelling the Non-freemen, or interloping Bakers; and the Brewers expel the interloping Brewers, and ſo on:—Now I aſk, in the Name of Common Senſe, after this Exploit, what have the Bakers, or Brewers, or Taylors, or any others gained by theſe Expulſions?—For the Matter, you ſee, is not one Jot mended; and the Complaint, *That the Trade is overſtocked*, remains as ſtrong as ever; there being as many of the Trade remaining, *in Proportion to the Number of their Cuſtomers*, as there were before. Either therefore let all continue,—or ſeek for ſome other Reaſon, and give up the fooliſh Pretence of leſſening the Number of your *Rivals* by ſuch Methods, whereby the Companies of other Trades are leſſening the Number of your *Cuſtomers*.

II. *Anſwer*, Granting, that a Trade may be accidentally overſtocked with Numbers;—when that is the Caſe, the beſt and ſafeſt Way is to let the Evil alone, and then it will infallibly cure itſelf. For in proceſs of Time, ſome of theſe Perſons will go off to other Trades; and, as the Trade is out of repute, there will not ſo many young Recruits be bred up to it. Thus the Occupation that was once overſtocked, will ſoon be reduced to a Medium, and may in its turn want Hands again; the Conſequence of which may probably be, that it will be again overſtocked: For ſuch is the Rotation of human Affairs, Dearneſs begets Cheapneſs, and Cheapneſs Dearneſs. But if you ſhould take any other Courſe than what is here mentioned, which is in Fact the *Courſe of Nature, and of Providence*, like Summer and Winter in the natural World, your Attempts will not only be fruſtrate, but by endeavouring to remove one *ſeeming* Evil, and *temporary* Inconvenience,

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you will certainly introduce a thouſand real ones, which will grow more dangerous, and inveterate by Length of Time.

IV. THE laſt Pretence is, That theſe Liberties and Privileges are *bought* by the great Sums given with Apprentices, and by the Money expended in taking up the Freedoms of Cities, Companies, *&c.*—Therefore if they are to be given up, ſome Recompence ſhould be made to the preſent Proprietors.

1*ſt Anſwer*, IF any Money was really given for theſe Privileges, more is the Pity: For poſitively they are WORTH NOTHING: Nay, they are ſo vile a Drug, that if you were to carry them to *Mancheſter*, *Birmingham*, or any other free Town, they would not accept of your intended Preſent. But indeed, how is it poſſible, that theſe Privileges can be of any Valuation, inaſmuch as it hath been made evidently to appear, that they do not increaſe the Trade of any one particular Perſon, and greatly prevent the general Trade of the Nation?

2*d Anſwer*, THE Poſition is not juſt, That the great Sums of Money given with Apprentices, are in Conſideration of obtaining theſe imaginary Privileges. For, as great, nay much greater Sums are given in open Towns, where they neither have, nor deſire ſuch Privileges. And I will venture to aſſert, that many Tradeſmen in *Weſtminſter* and *Southwark*, have much larger Sums with their Apprentices than thoſe of like Occupation in the City of *London:* And as to Merchants, it is now grown into a kind of Cuſtom, even within the Liberties of the City, for Merchants to refuſe taking up their Freedom, leſt they ſhould be burdened with the uſual Inconveniencies attending it: And yet theſe Merchants have very large Sums with their Apprentices, or Clerks:—So little Regard is paid to theſe trifling Gewgaws by the beſt Judges, and moſt experienced Practitioners in the Commercial World.

UPON the whole, After having examined and refuted every Pretence, we muſt now recur to the Obſervation we ſet out with, *viz.* That an *Engliſhman*, notwithſtanding his boaſted Liberty, is, in regard to Commerce, ſtill NOT FREE:—For he is ſtill in Bondage, not to the Crown indeed, as formerly, but to his Fellow-Subjects; and we ſtill want the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION in the Commercial Syſtem, which we have happily obtained in the Political. Then indeed, and not till then, may we be ſaid to have aboliſhed all the *Remains* of antient, deſpotic Power, and Gothic Barbarity. For as long as theſe Charters and

Excluſions

Excluſions continue, ſo long we bear about us the Marks of our former Slavery.

HOWEVER, ſeeing theſe Chains are now looked upon by a conſiderable Part of the Nation as a Matter of Ornament, inſtead of a Badge of antient Slavery, we muſt pay that Deference to the Foibles and Prejudices of Mankind, as may beſt promote the great End we aim at, *National Proſperity*. And therefore, far from endeavouring to take theſe pretended Privileges away at once, let us rather undermine them by degrees, and by that Means render the People themſelves weary of their Chains.

THEREFORE, the Set of Polities here propoſed, are thoſe which have been mentioned already under another Article, Page 18 and 19, viz. *Polities for incouraging the Married State*. And indeed, if all *married* People were allowed, as there ſet forth, the intire Liberty of working at what *mechanic* Arts they pleaſed, and of keeping Shops within Glaſs Windows, theſe two Articles would go a conſiderable Way towards redreſſing the Evil complained of. And as an Act for this Purpoſe might, and ought to bear the moſt popular Title, *viz. An Act for the more effectual Incouragement of Marriage among induſtrious People*, an Oppoſition to it would not be able to ſound a general Alarm throughout the Nation. Nay, the far greater Part being pleaſed with the Title, would not trouble their Heads about the Contents: For Names and Sounds are the chief Things, in Caſes of this Nature, either of doing Good, or doing Miſchief. Beſides, the very Contents of the Act not being levelled againſt any *particular* Set of Men, and conſequently not raiſing any particular Enemies, there would be no *Demetriuſes* to ſtir up the People, That their *Craft* was in Danger. Moreover as the Effects of ſuch a Law could not appear inſtantaneouſly, but would creep on by ſlow Degrees, there would be no Danger to be apprehended at its firſt Commencement; Becauſe there would be no immediate Object of *public Hatred*, like as in the Caſe of the *Jew* Bill, for the popular Fury to vent itſelf upon. So that in every View, the Electioneering Patriot muſt invent ſome other Cry, and here be ſilent: And if the Law was paſt the ſecond, third, or fourth Seſſion of Parliament (which would be the only *proper Seaſons* for paſſing it) perhaps he himſelf would, for once, do Good undeſignedly, and be among the firſt to promote it: — Indeed he could have no particular Intereſt to ſerve by oppoſing it. But be that as it may, certain it is, that after a Courſe of Years theſe pretended Privileges would grow into great Diſeſteem, and become at laſt as much the Subject of Deriſion and Con-

tempt as the Coronation Challenges of *Dimmock* the Champion (another Remnant of Gothic Barbarity) are at preſent.

AND now, notwithſtanding ſo much hath been ſaid on this Subject, ſomething ſeems neceſſary yet to be added by way of guarding againſt, as far as that is poſſible, the diſingenuous Arts of Cavil and Chicane. For it is eaſy to foreſee, that many Difficulties will be ſtarted, and Objections raiſed by narrow-minded Perſons at the Beginning of this, as of every other Reformation. And though they cannot defend the abſurd and iniquitous Practices intended to be reformed, yet they think themſelves very happy (from what Motive it is many times hard to ſay) if they can ſucceed in perplexing the Argument, or miſrepreſenting the Intention of the Reformers.

I. THEREFORE it will be pretended, That if ſuch a Courſe is taken in diſſolving, or undermining Charters, all Order and Regularity will be overturned, and the uſual Channels of Juſtice, and Civil Government will be ſtopped up.

Now it may be greatly queſtioned, whether the Perſons themſelves, who would urge this Plea, can poſſibly believe the Reality of it. And yet, as the Words made uſe of, are plauſible and ſonorous, it will be neceſſary to obviate the ill Impreſſions that ſuch Words may occaſion: Be it therefore remembered, That Charters for the *Adminiſtration of Juſtice*, are one Thing, and Charters for the *Limitation of Commerce* are another; and therefore, if any Man will confound theſe two together, he muſt be very weak, or, what is much worſe, very wicked. Now the Force of the Arguments here advanced, as well as the Intent of the Polities propoſed, tend only to the opening of excluſive Charters relating to Commerce, but have no Reference whatever to Charters for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. Theſe latter therefore are to remain in full Poſſeſſion of all their Powers of adminiſtring Juſtice to the Subject; and as to the former, it is not even propoſed to repeal theſe Charters, but only to take away their noxious and malignant Qualities. For the Charters may ſtill remain as far as relates to all Points of Honour, Pleaſure or Profit: The Rents of the vaſt Eſtates belonging to theſe Companies are ſtill to be at their Diſpoſal; and their Furs and Scarlet Gowns, their Colours and Streamers, their Offices and Dignities, and, what is the moſt eſſential of all, their frequent Feaſtings and Carouſings, are ſtill to be held ſacred and inviolable: And nothing more is to be taken from them, but the Power of ſtopping Induſtry, and doing Miſchief. Judge therefore with what Appearance of Truth it can be ſaid (and yet I am

perſuaded

perſuaded, it will be ſaid) that this Scheme tends to diſſolve all Charters whatſoever, and to annihilate the beſt Part of the Rights, Liberties, and Privileges of a *free-born Engliſhman*.

II. IT will be ſaid, That according to the Principles on which this Scheme is built, every *other* Trade, Calling, or Profeſſion, ought to be as free and independent, without Reſtraint or Examination.

NOW, in order to give this Objection its full Anſwer, four Obſervations ought to be made;

(1.) THERE are a Set of Trades and Callings, whoſe very Buſineſs it is to draw others into Idleneſs and Expence;—Thus, for Example, the greater the Number of Alehouſe-Keepers, and the more induſtrious they are, ſo much the leſs Induſtry there will be among other People. For they cannot ſucceed in their Imployments, without impeding the Succeſs of others. This being the Caſe, it therefore follows, that the very ſame Principle, which would take off Reſtraints from other Trades, would lay Reſtraints upon theſe, and prevent their Increaſe.—But of what Nature theſe Reſtraints are, will particularly appear in PARTS III. and IV. when we come to treat of Polities for promoting good Morals, and to ſet forth the Theory of judicious Taxes.

(2.) THERE are certain Occupations (*Mechanic*, or *Manufacturing* Trades I think there are none) whoſe Profeſſors ought to be ſubject to a *Licence*, or *Examination* before they Practice, becauſe the Injury done by unſkilful Practitioners may be irreparable and fatal. And this Obſervation holds particularly ſtrong in the Caſe of Phyſic and Surgery: For a bold plauſible Pretender may do that Miſchief at once, which is never afterwards to be remedied. And then it is of no avail to turn off the Quack, and have no farther Dealings with him, after he has killed, or ruined his Patient. In ſhort, the Caſes of Phyſic, and Manufactures are not at all parallel; and therefore no Argument relating to the one, ought to conclude for the other.

(3.) IN relation to the Profeſſions of Law and Divinity, the very Nature of theſe Sciences render it neceſſary, that the Profeſſors of them ſhould undergo ſome Examination, or give ſome Proof of their Abilities and Proficiency, before they commence Teachers and Practitioners. For in regard to Divinity, it is abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the Perſons to be *taught*, are the proper Judges of the Abilities and Learning of the *Teachers*. Nay indeed, Tares of bad Principles may be made to reſemble Wheat ſo much in the outward Look and Appearance, that the beſt diſpoſed *unlettered* Perſon may be deceived, if he is not likewiſe

endowed with a moſt uncommonly ſolid and ſagacious Judgment. Moreover in regard to Law, the *implicit Faith* which the Maſs of Mankind muſt repoſe in the Practitioners of it, makes it neceſſary, that as many Securities ſhould be taken by the Public, both of their Integrity, and Abilities in their Profeſſion, as the Nature of the Caſe will bear. For their Clients can be no Judges of their Abilities; and after they have loſt their Fortunes by truſting them in diſhoneſt, or unſkilful Hands, it will then be too late to turn off their Counſellors, or Attorneys, and chuſe others.

But, (4.) there is one general Reaſon for reſtraining the Numbers of the Profeſſors of Law, Phyſic, and Divinity, which concludes quite the contrary, if applied to Huſbandry, or Manufactures: And that is, that as theſe Scholars and *literary* Gentlemen live by the Labour of others, the Increaſe of their Numbers would be ſo far from adding to the Public Stock of Wealth, that it would greatly diminiſh it in every View:—A dead Weight themſelves, and depriving the Public of ſo much Labour. A few indeed are neceſſary in every State, but many are a Nuſance both to themſelves, and to the Public: And in ſhort, an Increaſe of their Numbers ſhould never be attempted till all other Orders and Profeſſions have *led the Way, and greatly increaſed theirs:* For the Number of Pariſhioners, Clients, and Patients, ſhould firſt be multiplied, before that of Clergymen, Lawyers, or Phyſicians.

We have now, I think, viewed the Subject in all Lights, and in every Poſition:—And the Reſult of the whole is this, That no Diſcouragement ought to be put upon Induſtry and Labour; that every Trade, productive of National Commerce, Wealth, and Proſperity, ought to be free and unreſtrained; that Monopolies and Excluſions, *in the Caſe before us*, are both a *fooliſh*, and a *knaviſh* Scheme; becauſe they are a Detriment to all, without being a private Advantage to any: And to ſum up every thing, it hence appears, That Excellency of Work, Cheapneſs of Labour, right Application of Genius, good Morals in private Life, Plenty and Proſperity in regard to the Public, are the ſure Conſequences of univerſal Freedom, and univerſal Emulation: For ſuch is the Order of Things, and the Courſe of Providence. Put therefore your Commercial Affairs into that Method, which is planned out by Providence itſelf; and then all will go well. As to our preſent *numerous*, and *contradictory* Laws concerning the Quality and Price of Goods, Hours of Working, Hire of Journeymen and Labourers, high Wages, oppreſſive Combinations, *&c. &c.* they are only the poor Efforts of *After-Thought* to prevent the ill Effects of *original* Blunders. And as they frequently

do

do more harm than good, if *attempted to be executed*, our old Legiſlators may be very juſtly compared to an unſkilful Phyſician, firſt ſtopping up one Sore, and then another, inſtead of correcting the ORIGINAL MALADY, from whence all proceeded.

SECTION II.

A Polity for opening thoſe excluſive Companies, which relate to Foreign Trade.

FOREIGN Trade, as was obſerved before, is only another Name for carrying on a Commercial Intercourſe between ſuch Countries as are not under the ſame Government, or Legiſlature with ourſelves. For the Trade between *South*, and *North Britain*, when theſe Kingdoms were under different Governments, was eſteemed *foreign*; nay, it was ſo reputed, when only the Legiſlatures were different, though the Crowns were united: But when there was an Union both of Crowns, and Legiſlatures, then the Idea of Foreign Commerce immediately vaniſhed. Moreover, if all *Europe* were *united* under *one great Monarch*, and *one Legiſlature*, the Trade carried on between the different Parts of this extended Monarchy, would not be conſidered under the Idea of Foreign Commerce. And this Reaſoning is fully confirmed by Facts; for in regard to *Turky* (that immenſe Collection of numberleſs States, Kingdoms, and Republics, as they formerly ſubſiſted, but now ſwallowed up in one great Gulph of *uniform* deſpotic Power) I ſay, in regard to this vaſt Empire, no one looks upon that Trade as foreign which is carried on between *Smyrna* and *Conſtantinople*, tho' the Diſtance of the one from the other is very great, and they formerly belonged to different Kingdoms, and are now ſituated in different Quarters of the World. In ſhort, *Conſtantinople* is the Metropolis, and *Smyrna* is one of the Out-Ports; and the Trade between them anſwers to the ſame Idea in this vaſt Empire, as the Trade between *London* and *Briſtol* doth in *Great Britain*.—But this Obſervation will have its farther Uſe in ſettling right Notions of National Induſtry and Riches, and in confuting popular Errors concerning the Ballance of Trade, and the Nature of Money, as we proceed in this Work.

THE Ideas of Foreign, and Domeſtic Commerce being thus adjuſted, we muſt now obſerve, That all kinds of Excluſions ſprung from the ſame Origin, *viz.* Deſpotic Power in the Prince, and diſhoneſt Selfiſhneſs in the Subject: For theſe were the Parents of this monſtrous Brood:

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The deſpotic Power of the Prince, I know not for what Reaſon, was called Prerogative; and this Prerogative was purchaſed by the monopolizing Subject either of the Prince himſelf, or of ſome favourite Courtier, in order to prey upon, and oppreſs his Fellow-Subjects with Impunity.—Now, though we have at preſent but few excluſive Companies relating to Foreign Trade, yet we had formerly almoſt as many Companies for Trading abroad, as Trading at home.—And then indeed, the Excluſions being mutual, all were hurt, and none benefited; ſo that the Knavery of theſe Men was amply rewarded with their Folly; but at preſent, as other Excluſions are taken off, and the Trade thrown open, the Monopolies that ſtill remain, are certainly Gainers; and conſequently the Imputation of Folly doth not fall to their Share. But in order to avoid Repetitions as much as poſſible, let us now omit thoſe Pretences which have been already confuted in the former Section, and paſs on to ſuch Apologies, as ſeem more particularly calculated for the Defence of excluſive Companies in a Foreign Trade.

I. "THEREFORE it is pretended, That excluſive Companies are ne-
"ceſſary in order to maintain Forts, Governors, and Soldiers along
"the Coaſt;—otherwiſe theſe Eſtabliſhments muſt be ſupported at the
"public Expence."

1ſt Anſwer, IT is not ſo clear a Point, that any Forts are neceſſary, if *National* Commerce is the only thing aimed at. For let me aſk, To what *Commercial* Uſes are theſe Forts to be applied? If they are in order to plant a Colony;—then the having a few Forts, without making farther Settlements, is only being at a continual Expence to anſwer no End. If they are to awe and bridle the Natives, It would be difficult to ſhew, what Advantage can accrue to Trade by inſulting and diſobliging the People you trade with: And ſure I am, that that Shopkeeper would be deemed a ſtrange kind of Creature, who would go and *bully* all his Cuſtomers, in order to bring Cuſtom to his Shop.—But perhaps it may be ſaid, That Forts are neceſſary, in order to prevent other European Nations from trading with theſe Countries: If ſo, then I aſk, Do theſe Forts prevent any Nations whatever from trading, if they have a mind to trade? Do the *Engliſh* Forts, for Example, prevent the *Freneh*, or the *French* the *Engliſh* from trading to *India*? Not at all. Nay, thoſe European Nations which have not one Fort, find the Way to trade as well as others; witneſs the *Oſtend* Company formerly; and the *Embden* and *Gottenburg* Companies at preſent. More-

over

over the *Engliſh* themſelves have no Forts in *China*;—tho' the Country itſelf is at a much greater Diſtance, and our Trade thither of more Extent and Importance; and though the ſame Pretence might ſerve againſt the *Mandrins* of *China*, as againſt the *Nabobs* of *India*. Suppoſe therefore, that the *Flemiſh*, the *Spaniards*, the *Genoeſe*, the *Tuſcans*, *Neapolitans*, *Venetians*, or any of our European Neighbours, were to lay aſide their preſent unhappy Syſtems, and to act upon *true Commercial* Principles, what is there to hinder them from opening a Trade to *India*? And can any one pretend to ſay, that they could not poſſibly ſucceed, when he knows that the *Dutch* did ſucceed, without Forts themſelves, and againſt all the Forts of the united Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, the greateſt Powers then in *Europe*, and the only European Powers in *India*? This is a notorious Fact, which cannot be controverted; nay, the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company was not then *incorporated:* And had they always acted according to their *original* Plan of being *Traders*, inſtead of *Conquerors*, they would have imployed a much greater Number of Shipping than they now do, they would have exported and imported larger Quantities of the Merchandiſes of the reſpective Countries, and they would have ſpread that Wealth among all the Individuals of the State, which, by being ingroſſed and monopolized in a few Hands, hath done more real Miſchief to the Vitals of their Conſtitution, than all their other Enemies put together. But indeed, the very Notion of having Forts for the Purpoſes of Commerce (where no Colonies are intended) is extravagant and fooliſh: For either theſe Forts muſt be ſo numerous and ſtrong, as to oblige the Natives to ſubmit to the Will and Pleaſure of their Commanders; or elſe it is abſurd to ſuppoſe, that on a Coaſt of perhaps a thouſand Miles extent, half a Dozen little Forts, ſcattered up and down, can prevent the Natives from trading with thoſe Cuſtomers, which will uſe them beſt. In ſhort, the only Uſe of Forts is *Perquiſites*, *Jobbs*, and *Salaries*; viz. *Perquiſites* to the Clerks, Factors, and Supercargoes; *Jobbs* to the Directors; and *Salaries*, with all their Appendages, to the Governors, Sub-Governors, and ſo forth. Indeed Sir *Joſiah Child* (with whom the Writer of theſe Sheets had the Honour to agree in *every other Commercial Point*, before ever he read his Book) ſeems to intimate, that Forts are abſolutely neceſſary in the *Eaſt Indies*.—But if the Reader will pleaſe to recollect, that Sir *Joſiah Child* was the Chairman and Director of the Company at home, and that his Brother, Sir *John Child*, was their Governor abroad;—And if he will alſo conſult *Harris*'s *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Edit. 1744, Vol. I. Page 899 to 905, he will be at no Loſs in gueſſing at the true

Reaſon

Reaſon for this Partiality in Sir *Joſiah Child* towards Forts and Military Eſtabliſhments in the *Eaſt Indies*.

2*d Anſwer*, GRANTING even that Forts are neceſſary,—How doth this prove that excluſive Companies are neceſſary? and what immediate Reference have the one to the other? If it is ſaid, That excluſive Companies defray the Expences of maintaining theſe Forts,—This certainly is a palpable Falſhood; for the Companies no otherwiſe defray the Expences, than as our *Tax-Gatherers* here at home may be ſaid to defray the Expences of the Kingdom. Other Perſons pay, and they collect:—So it is in relation to excluſive Companies; they TAX the European Goods which they ſell in *Aſia*, and the *Aſiatic* Goods which they ſell in *Europe*, with an *higher Price* than the private Trader would do; and then apply a Part, and a very ſmall Part, of this Tax to the Purpoſes of their Military Eſtabliſhments, and put the reſt in their Pockets. But of all Taxes, this is the worſt and moſt pernicious in its Conſequences; for a Tax upon the *Exportation of our own Manufactures*, is a Tax upon our own Induſtry and Labour; and a Tax upon the *Importation of raw Materials*, is no other than a Method of tying Mens Hands behind them, leſt they ſhould do themſelves and their Country Service.—The only Tax of this Nature which is juſtifiable, is that which our *Eaſt India* Company lays upon Tea, and ſuch other Articles and foreign Manufactures, as do not promote general Induſtry *at home*, ſo far the Tax is right: But then it ought to be conſidered, That in Proportion as theſe Articles are taxed by the Company, in the ſame Proportion is the public Revenue defrauded of its juſt Due. For certain it is, That were the Trade to *India* and *China* as free and unreſtrained, as the Trade is to *Spain* and *Portugal*, the Conſequence would be, that Tea and all other Articles would be ſold to the Conſumer much cheaper than they now are, even though the preſent Cuſtoms were doubled upon them. And thus would the Revenue itſelf be prodigiouſly increaſed; nay, the Temptations of ſmuggling Teas, and other *Aſiatic* Commodities from *Denmark*, the Iſle of *Man*, *France*, and *Holland*, would be proportionably decreaſed; and this likewiſe would prove another Source of great Gainings and Savings to the Nation. Now, after it hath been thus demonſtrably proved, that the Nation, and not the Company, ſupport theſe Forts even in Times of Peace, one might reaſonably expect, that the Advocates for ſuch Excluſions would have the Modeſty to give up this Plea, and be ſilent for the future; but alas! the leſs they have of Reaſon and Argument on their ſide, the more

more liberal they are in confident Aſſertions, and ſpecious Chicane, in order to dazzle and perplex an honeſt Mind. However, ſuppoſing even that excluſive Companies maintain their own Quarrels in Times of Peace, (*i. e.* in ſuch Times, when there are no Quarrels, and conſequently when no Forts are neceſſary, but by way of *Prevention)* the Queſtion ſtill returns, *viz.* Who maintains them in Time of War? And to whom is Recourſe had in real Danger? —For ſurely a Monopoliſt himſelf would hardly ſay, That the Nation have been put to no Expence on this Account:—Unleſs he thinks, that we have ſo ſoon forgot, that, during the laſt War, numerous and expenſive Squadrons, were continually ſent to defend the Company's Forts and Settlements in the *Eaſt Indies.* Therefore, to put an End to this Article, let it be conſidered, that the preſent Argument ſtands thus;—In Times of Peace, our excluſive Companies impoſe the very worſt, and moſt detrimental Taxes on *their Fellow-Subjects*, that any Nation can ſuffer; and in Times of War they are ſo far from aſſiſting us, that they do not defend themſelves, and expect that we ſhould do it for them:—So juſt therefore, as well as ſevere, was that Sarcaſm of the *Indian Nabob*, viz. "That if he had intruſted a Town of his to be defended by his dance-"ing Girls, he would have expected them to have given a better Ac-"count of it, than the *Engliſh* gave of Fort *St George.*"

3*d Anſwer*, GRANTING ſtill, that theſe Forts are neceſſary:—An unlucky Queſtion here occurs, *viz.* To whom are they neceſſary? If it is ſaid, That they are neceſſary to the excluſive Company, then let this Company injoy the ſole Benefit of them. But if it is farther pretended, That private Adventurers cannot carry on their Trade without the Protection of ſuch Forts and Caſtles, then the Diſpute is ended, and the Difficulty ſolved at once, *viz.* Let the private Adventurers trade wherever they can, but *not dare* to come into that Town, Port, or Place, where the Company have any *Military* Eſtabliſhment: Nay, let the Excluders be conſidered, what they really are, the perpetual and avowed Enemies of the reſt of their Countrymen; and therefore let them act like the moſt cruel Enemies in *open War*, whenever they can catch the private Traders *within their Territories*:—Then it follows, That, *according to this Hypotheſis*, the private Traders muſt neceſſarily give over their Purſuits; inaſmuch as they *cannot* trade without Forts, and *dare not* make uſe of thoſe of the Company. Therefore what need is there of any further Excluſion, ſince this Circumſtance itſelf will effectually exclude them? And why ſo much Pains taken to deny

the poor Adventurer the Liberty of a *free Trade*, when, after all, he could not uſe this Liberty, were it granted to him? Now if the Advocates for the *Eaſt India*, and the *Hudſon*'s Bay Companies do really think, that the above Argument is a good one, let them reſt their Cauſe upon it; and we will be contented: But if they only bring it by way of Flouriſh and Illuſion, they muſt be told, That thoſe Perſons who are excluded from a free Trade, by virtue of the partial, malevolent Charters of Men, are not excluded by the impartial divine Benevolence from the common Benefit of Senſe and Reaſon.

II. The ſecond Pretence is, "That excluſive Companies are neceſ-
"ſary, in order to keep up the Price of our own Goods in foreign
"Markets, and the Price of foreign Goods at home; or, in other
"Words, to *ſell dear*, and *buy cheap*."

1*ſt Anſwer*, We freely allow all the Premiſes, for moſt undoubtedly all excluſive Companies were ſet up with this View, and *this View only*; But what Concluſions can be drawn from hence regarding national Commerce? Is it in the firſt Place, for the Intereſt of this Nation, that we ſhould ſell *our Manufactures* dear to Foreigners? And doth it follow in the ſecond Place, that the Monopoliſts, who buy *raw Materials* cheap abroad, will ſell them cheap at home?—*Sic Notus Ulyſſes?*

2*d Anſwer*, If this Principle of ſelling dear, and buying cheap, by means of Monopolies, is a good Principle for national Commerce, then it follows, that all foreign Trade whatever ought to be put under Monopolies and Excluſions, as ſoon as poſſible. For where there are *no Rivals* either in buying or ſelling, the Monopoliſt will certainly have it more in his Power to fix his own Price: The Queſtion therefore is, What will the Nation gain by this Monopoly? Will greater Quantities of our own Manufactures, that is, our own Labour be exported? Will greater Quantities of Raw Materials, that is, Proviſions for future Labour be imported?—If neither of theſe will be the Caſe, what are the Gains of the Monopoliſt, but the *Nation's Loſs?* And if we were to ſuppoſe, That the Trade to *Holland*, *Flanders*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Germany*, the *Baltic*, &c. &c. were to be put under a Set of excluſive Companies, would the Ports of *London*, *Briſtol*, *Liverpool*, &c. be as crowded with Shipping as they are at preſent? Would the interior Parts of the Kingdom, and the great manufacturing Places of *Birmingham*, *Manchester*, *Leeds*, *Halifax*, *Sheffield*, *Norwich*, *Bradford*, *Stroud*, &c. &c. I ſay, would theſe,

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and many ſuch Places, be as rich, populous, and flouriſhing, as they now are?—A plain and honeſt Anſwer to theſe Queſtions, ends all the Controverſy at once.

III. A third Pretence is, "That excluſive Companies are neceſſary, "becauſe they are a Means of preventing the Exportation of Coin and "Bullion. For, ſay their Advocates, if excluſive Companies buy "Goods in a foreign Market at a leſs Price, and in leſs Quantities, than "free Traders would do; the Conſequence is, that the Ballance of "Trade is the more likely to turn in their Favour:—And therefore if "the Ballance of the *Eaſt India* Trade is vaſtly in our Diſfavour, even "when under the Management of a Company; what would it be, "were this Trade let looſe to all Adventurers, who, by vying with, "and rivalling one another, would certainly enhance the Price abroad, "and bring the greateſt Quantities home?"

1ſt Anſwer, If this Bullion, or Coin, is carried out to purchaſe *Raw Materials* for the Imployment of our People, the Trade is good and beneficial to the State, becauſe it creates Induſtry, and promotes Labour. For Induſtry and Labour are the only real Riches; Money being merely the Ticket or Sign belonging to them; and the Uſe of Money is to Certify, that the Perſon poſſeſſing that Piece of Coin, hath likewiſe been in Poſſeſſion of a *certain Quantity of Labour*, which he hath transferred into other Hands, and now retains the *Sign* of it.—Money therefore being nothing more than a Certificate of Labour, it neceſſarily follows, that national Induſtry will always command as many of theſe Certificates, *i. e.* as much Gold and Silver, as are wanted for theſe Purpoſes. For if *Great Britain* hath Induſtry, and another Country Money, the Induſtry of the one will ſoon extract the Money of the other, in Spite of every Law, Penalty, and Prohibition that can be framed. Nay, to go a Step farther, Suppoſe a Country *ſeparated from all the World*, and yet abounding in the Metals of Gold and Silver; it is very poſſible, that this Country may be in a *ſtarving* Condition; and the Inhabitants of it much poorer than the pooreſt Beggar in our Streets. But if you will ſuppoſe, that the Inhabitants are likewiſe *nationally* Induſtrious, being ſkilful Huſbandmen, and ingenious Artificers; and then I aſk, What can they want? For ſurely they may live in that Country as happily as human Nature was deſigned to do.—This being the Caſe, let us now proceed to ſuppoſe, that all the Gold and Silver in that Country was loſt and annihilated in one Night; and what would be

the Conſequence, but plainly this, that the Inhabitants would then deviſe ſome other Ticket, or Counter, for the Exchange of mutual Induſtry, and the Circulation of Labour among one another?—Induſtry therefore being the only Riches of a State, what have we to fear from the Exportation of Gold and Silver, if it is to *promote Induſtry?*

2*d Anſwer*, If the Coin, or Bullion, is carried out, in order to bring back ſuch Things as tend to Idleneſs, and are preventive of national Induſtry, then the only proper Method of *checking* ſuch a Trade is, to lay very high Duties upon the Commodities imported:—which will be itſelf a Means of increaſing the Revenue, and of ſaving the Impoſition of other Taxes. And thus may any Trade, not deſerving national Incouragement, be checked and reſtrained to what Degree you pleaſe; and the Public avail itſelf in the mean time both by the Increaſe of Taxes, and the Diſcouragement of Idleneſs, Luxury, and expenſive Pleaſures;—So far therefore, it is to be hoped, there is no need of having recourſe to excluſive Companies.

3*d Anſwer*, It is not true, that excluſive Companies are a Means of preventing the Extraction of Gold and Silver out of the Kingdom:—Nay, the Truth is, that they themſelves are the *principal Cauſe* of it, as far as this Extraction is to be conſidered as a bad Thing.—For let us now inquire, what can be the Reaſon, that the Trade to the *Eaſt Indies* is a perpetual Drain of Gold, and more eſpecially of Silver, from every Country in *Europe*, that trades thither? Indeed the great Monſieur *Monteſquieu* is of Opinion, that Nature itſelf produces this Effect. "For, ſays he, the *Indians* have their Arts adapted to their manner of "Living. Our Luxury cannot be theirs, nor their Wants ours. They "go, in a great Meaſure, naked; ſuch Cloaths as they have, the Coun-"try itſelf furniſhes. And their Religion, which is deeply rooted, "gives them an Averſion for thoſe Things which ſerve for our Nou-"riſhment. They want therefore nothing but our Bullion, to ſerve "as the Medium of Value; and for which they give us in return Mer-"chandiſes, which the Frugality of the People, and the Nature of the "Country, furniſh them in great Abundance." *Spirit of Laws*, Book XXI. Chap. 1. Now, with all due Reſpect to the Opinion of ſo great a Man, I humbly conceive, that his ſuppoſed Solution of this Phenomenon is, by no means, ſatisfactory. For he ſuppoſes, that theſe People are devoid of Ambition or Avarice (call it which you pleaſe) in one Reſpect; and yet greatly influenced by it in another. They have

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no Deſire or Ambition after European Goods of any ſort, or kind; and yet they are continually at Work, and take prodigious Pains to acquire European Money.—This Account of human Nature is, in my poor Judgment, not a probable one. For why ſhould the *Indians* be ſuppoſed to be devoid of all other Paſſions, but that of heaping up Money? And are there indeed no *European* Commodities, that might ſuit an *Eaſtern* Climate? What think you, for Example, of ſeveral Sorts of thin Stuffs, Linens, painted Linens and Cottons, Lawns, Cambrics, Thread Laces, Gold and Silver Laces, *Dreſden* Works, Mignonettes, Ribbans, variety of Silks, and other Matters relating to Dreſs and Apparel? Surely the mere Heat of the Country can be no Bar againſt the Introduction of any of theſe Things, and a thouſand Articles of the like Nature. Nor will it be any ſufficient Anſwer to ſay, that theſe People will not wear any European Commodities, becauſe they manufacture ſuch Things in their own Country, as ſerve the ſame Ends. For this is contrary to every *tried* Principle in human Nature, and indeed is contrary to the known Practice of this very People. For they do actually conſume many Pieces of warm *Engliſh* Broad Cloth, againſt the Uſe of which much ſtronger Objections might be formed, were Men to reaſon after this manner. I aſk therefore again, Why are we to ſuppoſe, that an *Indian* of Diſtinction would not be as proud of being ſeen in a Robe of *Engliſh* Silks, Brocades, or Embroideries, painted Linens or Cottons, and of being adorned with Lawns, Cambrics, Thread Laces, Gold and Silver Laces, *Dreſden* Works, Mignonettes, Ribbans, *&c. &c.* as an European is to be ſeen in a right *India* Silk, and to be fond of Callicoes, and Chintzes?—To this might be added, an infinite Variety of Toys and Trinkets, and all the curious Manufactures of Gold and Silver Veſſels, Chaſe Works, and Jewelries; alſo the higher Manufactures of Braſs, Iron, Steel, Glaſs, Paper, and Paper Hangings, Tapeſtries, Watches and Clock Works, Cabinet Wares, and Inlaid Works, Ingravings, Paintings, Globes, Maps, Mathematical Inſtruments, *&c. &c.*—Granting therefore, that an *Indian* Climate forbids the Uſe of Kerſeys and Great Coats, and that their Religion will not allow of Wine or Spirituous Liquors, yet both their Climate and Religion will admit of ſuch an infinite Variety of other Articles as might bring the Ballance of Trade perfectly even, if not turn it in our Favour. And though we are to ſuppoſe, that theſe Things are not made at preſent according to the *Indian* Taſte and Faſhion, yet this Difficulty might ſoon be got over; for, by the Help of a Pattern or two, our ſkilful Artificers might ſurely as eaſily accommodate their Work to the Genius

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and Gout of the *Indians*, as the Artificers of *China* do, in painting *Engliſh* Coats of Arms on *China* Services. There is therefore nothing in the Reaſon and Nature of the Thing, why it ſhould come ſo univerſally to paſs, that the Trade to the *Eaſt Indies* ſhould be a continual Drain of Coin and Bullion.—But as the Fact is undoubtedly ſo, we muſt now endeavour to account for it upon other Principles. Let us therefore lay this down as a Maxim to build upon, *That Cheapneſs is a Temptation to buy, and Dearneſs a Diſcouragement.* And hence it will follow, that in Proportion as European Goods are rendered *cheap* in *India*, in that Proportion the Inhabitants will come more and more to uſe, and wear them. Now, when excluſive Companies are ſet up in *Europe* with a quite *oppoſite* Intent, *viz.* To raiſe the Price of European Goods as high, and make them as DEAR as poſſible, what muſt be the Conſequence, but deterring and diſcouraging the *Indians* from buying them?—And by being deterred in general, they become perfect Strangers to many particular Sorts; ſo that the whole Trade is confined to thoſe few Articles, which the Monopoliſts know and experience, will find a Vent. Add to this, that every Man, Monopoliſt or other, counts his Gains principally on what he *ſells*, not on what he *buys*: But the Difference between them is this, that the free Trader, ſurrounded with *Rivals* and *Competitors*, ſells as *cheap*, and as *much* as he can; reckoning his Gains by the *Quantity* ſold, according to the old Proverb, *Many Littles make a Mickle*: Whereas the unrivalled Monopoliſt ſells as *dear* as poſſible; and therefore cannot ſell *much*. This being the Caſe, the judicious Reader will plainly ſee, that the Conteſt between *Great Britain* and *India* for the Ballance of Trade, is not carried on upon equal Terms: Becauſe the *Indian*, who is ſurrounded with Rivals, ſells to the excluſive Company as cheap as he can poſſibly afford, in order to ſecure the Cuſtom to himſelf; but the excluſive Company acts upon a quite different Plan in regard to the *Indian*. Thus the Monopoliſt, and the free Trader, though both their Aims are Gain, yet purſue quite contrary Meaſures to obtain it. And the Conſequence will ever be, *cæteris paribus*, that the free Trader ſhall carry the Ballance from the Monopoliſts. Put the Caſe therefore, that the Trade to *Portugal*, where we have at preſent ſo great a Ballance in our Favour, was erected into a Monopoly like that of the *India* Company;—But that all the *Portugueſe* were *at full Liberty*, unreſtrained by Civil Tyranny, or Eccleſiaſtical Bigotry, and all *Rivals* in trading with the *Engliſh*; and then I aſk any reaſonable honeſt Man, whether he doth not think, that the Ballance in our Favour would immediately leſſen? Nay, whether he would not have

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Cauſe to fear, that in a few Years it would turn againſt us?—Now, were every Nation in *Europe* to trade with *Portugal* through the diſadvantageous Medium of excluſive Companies, *Portugal* would then become, what *India* is now. Indeed this Matter is ſo reducible to the Affairs of common Life, that it may be illuſtrated by a very familiar Inſtance: Let the Town of *Birmingham* therefore, and the City of *London* contend for the Ballance of Trade, reſpecting each other: But let the City give up all its Right of free Trade to one Man, or Set of Men, called a Company. Now this excluſive Company neither will, nor can ſell their Goods ſo cheap, as private Adventurers would gladly do: They *will not*, becauſe they know, that they have the whole Market to themſelves, no other Citizen daring to rival, or *underſell* them: They *cannot*, becauſe of the vaſt Expence they are at, in Fees, Jobbs, and Salaries, and in all the Pickings and Squeezings from the Governor in Chief down to the loweſt Porter, and Sweeper of the Storehouſe: Nay, they muſt have **peculiar Sorts* of Waggons for the Carriage of their Goods; and their very Carriers and Drivers will ſtand them in double the Expence, they would do to other People. Therefore upon all theſe Accounts, the *few* Articles which they *can* ſell, muſt be at an exorbitant Price;—perhaps *Cent. per Cent.* to what they otherwiſe would have been. This being the Caſe, the *London* Monopoliſts carry down Goods to the Value only of two thouſand Pounds, were the Trade open; but as it is ſhut up, and confined, we muſt call the Value four thouſand Pounds: The Goods are therefore ſold at that Price; and the Money veſted in the Manufactures of *Birmingham*, in order to make a back Freight, and profitable Return. But the *London* Monopoliſts finding theſe Manufactures ſo extremely cheap, and knowing, that they can diſpoſe of them to prodigious Advantage, when brought home, are tempted to lay out four thouſand Pounds more; that is, to carry out Coin, or Bullion, to that Amount. And thus it comes to paſs, that the Ballance will ever be againſt the confined Trade, in favour of the free. Whereas, had the Trade on both ſides been equally unreſtrained, both would have ſtrove to have ſold the moſt as to Quantity, and the cheapeſt as to Price; and by that Means, would have created a mutual Imployment for each other. In a word, Where the greater Numbers are imployed, there lies the Ballance;—Such a Ballance, I mean, as only deſerves the Public Regard, THE BALLANCE OF INDUSTRY; for Money without Induſtry, is an Hurt, not a Bleſſing.

IV. A

* This refers to the *peculiarly expenſive* Methods of fitting up Ships for the *Eaſt India* Service, and the exorbitant Charges of the Voyage.

IV. A fourth Pretence is, " That excluſive Companies are neceſſary " in order to impreſs Awe and Reſpect on the Inhabitants of diſtant " Countries: For, ſay their Advocates, were the Trade to be carried " on by private Adventurers, or voluntary Aſſociations, the Chiefs and " petty Princes, more eſpecially the *Rajahs* and *Nabobs* of *India*, would " deſpiſe, inſult, and maletreat ſingle, unconnected Merchants, and " oblige them to be for ever ſending them Preſents. But excluſive " Companies, by ſupporting Governors, Sub-Governors, *&c.* make a " great Diſplay of Royal State, and Dignity; and the Appearance of " theſe Things ſtrike a Terror and Reverence in the Natives, and pre- " vent theſe, and ſuch like Impoſitions."

1*ſt Anſwer*, THIS Pretence of the Advantage of Governors, Sub-Governors, *&c.* is nothing elſe, but the former Apology for Forts and Military Eſtabliſhments, put into a new Dreſs. And the Plea having been once confuted already, now makes its Appearance in another Form. But we will truſt the judicious Reader with what has been ſaid on that Part of the Subject, under the firſt Article.

2*d Anſwer*, THOSE Gentlemen, who inſiſt ſo peremptorily on the Neceſſity of keeping up the Appearance of great State and Dignity, in the Perſons and Retinue of their Governors in *India*, have forgot to tell us, how comes it to paſs, that theſe Things are more neceſſary in later, than in former Ages? For the Merchants of *Egypt*, of the *Roman* Empire, of *Palmira*, of the *Greek* Empire, and after them the *Saracens* and *Egyptians*, acted as *mere Merchants*, without any one Governor, Fort, or Military Eſtabliſhment whatever. And yet we do not find, throughout all Hiſtory, that the *Indian* Kings or Princes uſed them the worſe for being thus without State or Pomp; nor did they maletreat theſe *unconnected* Merchants, but gave them all poſſible Incouragement to come, and trade among them. In ſhort, Governors, and Sub-Governors, Forts and Military Eſtabliſhments, were never thought of till the *Portugueſe* introduced them. And what was their Motive for ſo doing?—Not to ſhelter Merchants, not to protect Trade, not to export a larger Quantity of their own Manufactures, and import Raw Materials, not to redreſs Wrongs, and to do themſelves Juſtice; not all, or any of theſe: For none of theſe Things are ſo much as pretended by their own Advocates: — But their real View was, (as ſet forth by their own Hiſtorians) to make Conqueſts both in a *temporal* and a *ſpiritual* Senſe; Conqueſts for the King, and for the Pope; having received a Commiſ-

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ſion from both for ſo doing. This now is the righteous, the bleſſed, the *Commercial* Origin of *Eaſt India* Governments, Forts, and Caſtles! And yet bad as this is, the *Portugueſe* had no excluſive Companies *at that Juncture*; their Trade was *free, and open to all their Subjects*; nor did the Notion of a Joint-ſtock Company and excluſive Privileges, obtain in *Europe* till many Years afterwards, when the Avarice of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch Eaſt India* Adventurers ſuggeſted this Conſpiracy againſt the natural Rights and Liberties of the reſt of their Countrymen; as ſhall be ſpeedily ſhewn under proper Articles.

3*d Anſwer*, If the Appearance of external Splendor and Royal Dignity is ſo neceſſary to the Well-being of Trade, — may we be permited to aſk, How comes it to paſs, that other Nations, who cannot make this Diſplay, yet trade as freely, and beneficially without it, as the *Engliſh* themſelves with all their Pomp and Pageantry. The *Oſtend* Company, for Example, did trade, (maugre all the Endeavours of the *Dutch*, *French*, and *Engliſh* to the contrary, both in *India*, and in *Europe)* to as much Advantage as any others; and they would have remained flouriſhing Traders to this Day, had there been no other Difficulties to obſtruct them. The *Embden* and *Gottenburg* Companies likewiſe are not in Poſſeſſion of one Government in all *India*;—unleſs Factories, and Merchants Compting-Houſes are to be honoured with that ſounding Name. For they have no Towns to govern, or Caſtles to command throughout the Country. Nay, the *Engliſh* themſelves have no Governors in *China*; and are obliged to appear with as little Diſplay of Royal State, as any *unconnected* Merchants whatever. Moreover what ſhall we ſay of the *Eaſt India* Company itſelf, even in *India?* Did they make this grand Appearance at firſt ſetting out, a Time of all others the moſt neceſſary ſo to do? Or is their ſubſequent Greatneſs to be aſcribed to that Awe and Reverence, with which the Natives were ſeized at their firſt Appearance?—So far from it, that ſcarce any thing could have had a more mean and paultry Aſpect, than this mighty Company, when firſt they came to trade in *India*. For their whole Fleet conſiſted only of * one Ship of ſix hundred Tons, another of three hundred, two others of two hundred, and another of one hundred and thirty, making one thouſand four hundred and thirty Tons in all; a Force ſo little, that many private Merchants have at preſent, upon their own ſingle Account, double the Tonnage of Shipping. And as to the Cargo, the total Value of

* This *excluſive* Charter was given by Queen *Elizabeth* the 31ſt of *December*, 1600, two Years before the *Dutch excluſive* Charter.—The Motives for granting both which will ſoon appear.

the Out-ſet of the Voyage roſe no higher than to twenty ſix thouſand Pounds Sterling;—which Sum might perhaps go as far, in thoſe Days, in buying a Cargo fit for *India*, as twelve or fourteen thouſand Pounds would do at preſent:—I ſay *perhaps* it would go as far; for certain it is, that it could not go much farther, the Prices of Goods proper for the *Eaſt Indies* being, in many Inſtances, about *Cent. per Cent.* and in ſome Caſes *three hundred per Cent.* CHEAPER now than in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*. In ſhort, there are many fiſhing Towns now in *England*, that might, by a voluntary Aſſociation, fit out as great a Fleet, and as richly laden, as this which firſt ſailed to the *Eaſt Indies*.

4th Anſwer, BUT after all, if Forts and Caſtles, and their Excellencies the Governors, with their pompous Train and Retinue are ſo very neceſſary, then it follows, that the Want of them is a Loſs, which can fall only upon the free Trader, and not upon the Company. Why therefore are the Company ſo anxious in a Point, in which their own Intereſt is not at all concerned? And doth it not look a little ſuſpicious, that they ſhould debar the free Trader from making a Trial, one Experiment at leaſt, when they know he cannot ſucceed?—Perhaps they may tell us, (as ſome indeed have told) that this is the Effect of their pure Benevolence and Good-will; for they, generous Souls! are unwilling to ſee their dear Fellow-Subjects aiming at ſuch Projects as muſt prove their Ruin. Indeed, indeed this is too much!—And, to let them ſee that all this *diſintereſted* Benevolence, and pure Good-will are thrown away upon an ungrateful, diſbelieving People, we will, in our turn, ſet forth our own Senſe of the Matter: In the *firſt* Place, We are firmly perſuaded, that if there never had been a Fort in *India*, the Trade had been infinitely more extenſive than it is: And in the *ſecond*, We are ſo far from dreading the Oppreſſion or Violence of the Princes and great Men of the Country, that we ſhould think our Traders much ſafer under their Protection, than under that of any Monopolizing Company whatever. And in ſupport of this Aſſertion, let an Appeal be made to the Hiſtories of every European Government in *India*; particularly to that of our own, as it was publiſhed in the laſt Edition of *The great Collection of Voyages*, Vol. I. Page 873, *Lond.* 1744: For there the Reader will find a Relation of ſuch horrid Scenes of Luſt, Avarice, and Cruelty, as will ſoon give him a Diſguſt for ſuch kind of political Inſtitutions. And as to the Uſe of Military Eſtabliſhments, in order to preſerve Peace and good Neighbourhood between the Natives and Europeans,—they are ſo far from contributing to this good End, that the contrary is evident beyond Contradiction; and

indeed

indeed is acknowledged by all our own Hiſtorians. Nay, it muſt be confeſſed, if we will ſpeak impartially, that for one Inſtance, in which the Natives have been the Aggreſſors, the European Governors have given the Provocation fifty times. And therefore when one conſiders what a Complication of Treachery, Inſolence, and Oppreſſion, theſe Strangers have been guilty of, for the Space of one hundred and fifty Years and upwards, towards the innocent and peaceable Proprietors of the Country, it might really be expected, that all the *Indian* Nations would unite, and riſe as one Man (which they certainly would have done, had their ſeparate Intereſts been more reconcileable) in order to expel theſe bloody Tyrants and Uſurpers. In ſhort, the real Fear of the excluſive Company is this, — Not that the private Traders would be ruined, but that the *Indians* would prefer dealing with them, rather than with the Agents of the Company: For they know very well, that the *Indians*, in ſuch a Caſe, would both buy their Goods upon better Terms, and be better treated. And then their Governors might reign over the naked Walls of their empty Forts and Caſtles, without Trade, and without Inhabitants.

V. The laſt Pretence is, "That excluſive Companies muſt certainly "be right, becauſe all Nations have made uſe of them, preferably to "any other Method. And what is thus univerſal, ſeems to have ſome "Foundation in Reaſon, and Nature."

1*ſt Anſwer*, If this Reaſoning were to hold good, the Conſequence is, that no new Improvement could ever be made. For every new Improvement, Alteration of Meaſures, or Reformation of Conduct, ſuppoſe, in their own Nature, that the old Practice was very different.

2*d Anſwer*, The Preſumption, that excluſive Charters *muſt be right*, becauſe they have ſo univerſally prevailed in *Europe*, is effectually overthrown by tracing the original Motives for their Inſtitution. And to elucidate this Matter, we will pitch upon the greateſt, and moſt ſucceſsful Company that ever exiſted, *viz.* The *Dutch* Company trading to the *Eaſt Indies*. Now in all theſe Inſtitutions, the *Grantors* may have one Motive, and the *Grantees* another: And therefore the faireſt Way will be to preſent the Reader with a View of both; in order that he may make his own Reflections.

Therefore in regard to the Views of the *Grantors*, viz. The States General, — that truly great and honeſt Patriot * *John De Wit*, explains

* *De Wit*'s true Intereſt and political Maxims of *Holland*, Lond. 1702. Chap. XIX. viz. Compulſion of Traffic.

their Motives in a few Words; *viz.* " The erecting of the *Eaſt* and " *Weſt India* Companies was [at the Time of their Inſtitution] a NE- " CESSARY EVIL; becauſe our People *would be* trading in, and about " ſuch Countries, where *our Enemies were too ſtrong for particular* " *Adventurers:* So that this ſeemed to be neceſſary in all Reſpects, to " to lay the Foundation of that Trade by a *powerful, armed Society.* " And ſeeing this Country, ingaged in a War againſt the King of " *Spain, had need of uſing all its Strength,* it was *very prudently* done " to erect thoſe two Societies." Here, you ſee, in the firſt Place, he joins the *Eaſt* and *Weſt India* Trade together; and ſuppoſes, that excluſive Companies were equally neceſſary, *at that Juncture*, for the carrying on of both: For his own ſtrong, and emphatical Words are, " That Companies, at the Beginning, were *neceſſary Evils.*" In the next Place, he explains the Reaſon, why he thought them neceſſary at that particular Juncture, *viz.* " That their Enemies the *Spaniards* (be- " ing then likewiſe in Poſſeſſion of *Portugal*, and the *Portugueſe* Set- " tlements) were too ſtrong for private Adventurers; and that the " States General, being ingaged in a War with the King of *Spain, had* " *need of uſing all their Strength.*" — The plain Meaning of which is this, That nothing but the greateſt Exigency of State could have juſtified theſe *neceſſary Evils*; and that their High Mightineſſes took this indirect Method of taxing their Subjects for carrying on a War in all Places at once, againſt the common Enemy, rather than of levying more Taxes in the ordinary Way; which they muſt have done, had they fitted out additional Fleets to ſupport and protect the private Adventurers in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies.* Now as the Subjects of *Holland* were, at that Juncture, loaden with Taxes beyond what is well conceivable; and the Emiſſaries of *Spain*, in the Heart of the Republic, taking all Advantages, and endeavouring to make the Revolters weary of their new Government; — perhaps it was expedient at that *critical* Time to practiſe a little Deception upon the Underſtandings of their People: I ſay, *a Deception*; for ſuch, in Fact, is every excluſive Company, becauſe it is a Tax, and a very grievous one, nay the moſt pernicious of all others: But as it proceeds *indirectly*, and *obliquely*, it eſcapes the Notice of the Vulgar, and is not felt, but in its remote and general Conſequences. However, the above Account of the Matter ſhews plainly, that according to the Judgment of this great and honeſt Stateſman, the Trade both to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies* ought to have been intirely free and unconfined, had not the aforementioned unhappy Circumſtances made a *temporary* Excluſion neceſſary. Now, as we all know,

know, that a Trade to the *Weſt Indies* can be carried on without an Excluſion, it follows of Courſe, that upon removing *the one only Impediment* that to the *Eaſt Indies* can be carried on, and ought to be as free and open as the other. Nay this great Man is very expreſs, and I may ſay, *prophetical* in his Obſervations: For his Words are, " But " that Trade [to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*] being now *ſo well ſettled*, " we may juſtly make it a Doubt whether the ſaid Companies ought " any longer to continue on the ſame Foot. — For it is certain, that " the *firſt moving Reaſon* of thoſe Grants to them, which was the " War with the King of *Spain*, NOW CEASETH; and that in Caſe of " any new War with that People, they would no longer be formida- " ble to us, but we to them. And ſecondly, as it is well known, that " it was neceſſary at firſt to make ſome Conqueſts upon the *Spice* " *Iſlands of the ſaid Enemy*, becauſe the more Lands they [the Com- " pany] conquered, the more Right and Ability they would acquire " to the Trade which might happen in thoſe Parts: So it cannot be " denied, that when theſe good and neceſſary Conqueſts are made, the " Grounds and Maxims of the Proſperity of the ſaid Companies begin " to *joſtle* and *oppugn* the general Good of this Country; which is " manifeſtly known to conſiſt in a *continual Increaſe of our Manufac-* " *tures*, Traffic, and Freight-Ships: Whereas nevertheleſs the true " Intereſt of ſuch Companies conſiſts in ſeeking the Benefit of all the " Members, even with foreign, as well as our own Manufactures, and " (to the great Prejudice of all other our Inhabitants) by importing " Manufactures, and other Mechanic Works into this Country, and " vending them throughout *Europe*; and, in ſhort, ☞ By making " the greateſt Profit with the leaſt Traffic and Navigation. As it is " acknowledged, that if the *Eaſt India* Company can gain more by " importing *Japan* Garments, *Indian* Quilts and Carpets, *&c.* than " *raw Silk*;—or if the Company, by cauſing a Scarcity of Nutmegs, " Mace, Cloves, Cinnamon, *&c.* could ſo raiſe the Price of them, that " they might gain as much by *one hundred Laſts*, as by a *thouſand* *; " we

* The Tranſlation here is ſtrangely perplexed and obſcure; but the Author's Meaning is plain enough; *viz.* That if the Company could get more by importing Manufactures, than Raw Materials, they would certainly import Manufactures; and would likewiſe ſell their Raw Materials as dear as poſſible. Moreover in regard to Spices, his Remark is, That the Company would rather *deſtroy nine Parts in ten*, than be at the Expence of carrying the nine Parts home, and then ſelling them for no more than they now ſell the Tenth. Thus do the Company, in this ſingle Article, employ no more than a *tenth Part* of the Shipping, Sailors, Storehouſes, Potters, *&c. &c.* which an *open* Trade would do.

" we ought not then to expect that thoſe raw Silks, and unneceſſary
" and great Diſburſements which they are at, ſhould cauſe a greater
" Trade and Navigation than thoſe hundred Laſts would juſt require,
" but that they would rather, to ſhun greater Traffic and Navigation,
" *deſtroy* all the Superfluity they have in the *Indies*. And it can be
" as little denied of ſuch Companies, that the more Lands they con-
" quer, the more of their Stock they muſt neceſſarily ſpend for the
" Preſervation and Defence of ſuch Lands †; and the more Dominion
" they have, the leſs they are able to mind and augment their Traffic.
" Whereas, on the contrary, our particular Inhabitants by thoſe mani-
" fold conquered ſtrong Holds and Lands, would have ſo much the
" more Conveniency and Security to trade in the *Indies*. We have
" now, to ſay no more, quite loſt our *open* Trade of *Guiney*, and that
" of Salt in the *Weſt Indies*, which were heretofore ſo conſiderable,
" *by the erecting of the* Weſt India *Company:* And the Miſchief which
" was done to the King of *Spain* in the *Weſt Indies*, is recoiled back,
" and fallen upon ourſelves: So that we cannot cry up that Company,
" who have bound the Hands of particular Men, and made War in-
" ſtead of Traffic, unleſs at leaſt they in the mean Time ſuffer all our
" Inhabitants freely to trade in all their Conqueſts. On the contrary,
" that Company hath *impoveriſhed many of our good Inhabitants.*
" Whereas by an open Trade, and *conſequently well ſettled Colonies*, we
" ſhould not only, with ſmall Charge, have eaſily defended thoſe vaſt
" Lands of *Brazil*, *Guiney*, *Angola*, *St Thomas*, &c. againſt all foreign
" Power, but (which is more conſiderable) have been able to carry on
" a very great Trade with our own Nation, without Fear that any fo-
" reign Potentate ſhould ſeize our Ships, Goods, or Debts, to which
" thoſe *Hollanders* that trade only in *Europe* are continually expoſed.
" And how profitable and ſecure that Trade would have been, may
" eaſily be apprehended, if it be well conſidered, that the ſaid Lands yield
" the beſt Sort of Commodities that are in requeſt over all *Europe*, and
" are not to be had ſo good elſewhere, *viz.* Sugar, Brazil-Wood, Ele-
" phants

† Here again is another ſtrange Perplexity of Stile: But the Senſe is very ſtrong and nervous: *viz.* That Trade and Conqueſt are two different Things, the latter being quite incompatible with the former. If therefore Conqueſts are to be made, ſuch Conqueſts ought to be undertaken by the Public; and then ſecured, and improved by planting Colonies; in ſhort, *ſuum cuique*, the State to conquer, and the Subject to trade; and a Conqueſt without a View of planting a Colony, is an Abſurdity both in Trade, and Politics. Hence therefore it follows, that in ſettling Colonies, the State ſhould give an intire Liberty to all the Inhabitants of the Mother Country to trade with the Colonies; for this is the only Way of ſtrengthening, and ſupporting both.—Such is the Argument of this judicious and unprejudiced Writer: And I will venture to ſay, it is *unanſwerable*.

" phants Teeth, Gold, &c. and that which thoſe Inhabitants have need
" of in return, *Holland* could, for the moſt Part, have ſupplied them
" with, as Victuals, Drink, and Apparel; yea even with moſt Mate-
" rials for building Houſes, Ships, &c. whereas now we are deprived
" of all theſe Advantages. ☞ This is the ordinary Fruit and Puniſh-
" ment of *Monopolies*, and *Conqueſts*, which, *for want of Colonies*, they
" muſt keep up at a continual great Charge. May our *Eaſt India*
" Company conſider this effectually, ere it be too late!"

THUS far this great Man: But alas! his patriotic Wiſh will never be regarded by an excluſive Company; for their Views are, to ſacrifice the Good of their Country to their own Intereſt, and to bring every other Set of Members of the Commonwealth *ſo low*, as not to be able to oppoſe their Deſigns. However, we ſee from hence the original Motive of the States General in granting theſe Excluſions, and the ſubſequent Uſes which the Monopoliſts made of them. Perhaps therefore it would have been better, that the States General had ſubmitted to the *temporary* Inconveniences ariſing from the *Spaniſh* War, rather than to have ſought to have redreſſed them by eſtabliſhing excluſive Companies. For that *ſuppoſed* Remedy is only the changing of a *preſent* Evil, of no great Extent, for one that is *future*, and every Day extending, and increaſing. Let this therefore be a Leſſon to all States hereafter how they grant Monopolies, if they really regard the Good of their People. For the Eſtabliſhment of an excluſive Company, *be the Motive what it will*, may be compared to the Hedge-Hog in the Fable; who at firſt was a moſt humble Petitioner to have one Night's hoſpitable Lodging in another's Apartment; but when he had once got Poſſeſſion, he ſet up his Briſtles, and was too ſtrong to be removed.

BUT it is now high time, that we ſhould take a View of the Motives of the Petitioners, or *Grantees*, in this Affair. It appears from the *Dutch* Hiſtories, that at the Beginning of the Republic, ſeveral Perſons entered into voluntary Aſſociations, to carry on a Trade with *India*; and they not only made ſucceſsful Voyages, (which by the By is a plain Proof, that a Trade can be carried on without an excluſive Company) but alſo beat their Enemies, the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* in ſeveral Rencounters. " But ‡ while their Navi-
" gation continued to be thus ſucceſsful, and the Trade of the *In-*
" *dies* flouriſhed more and more, there happened an Accident that
" diſcontinued their former good Fortune, and threatned Ruin to the
" whole; I mean the Plurality of Companies [voluntary Aſſociations]
" that were formed, and the ſorry Underſtanding that was between
" them.

‡ The great Collection of Voyages, Book I. Chap. ii. Sect. 6. Page 927.

" them. Oftentimes many of them fitted out Ships for the ſame Port,
" which lowered the Price of their Goods, and diſcouraged the Sailors.
" The States General being acquainted with theſe Inconveniences,
" called a Meeting at the *Hague* of the Directors of the Companies
" both of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and obliged them to unite in one Body
" for the future, to which their High Mightineſſes joined their Conſent
" and Authority. The Treaty that was then agreed upon, was con-
" firmed by a Patent from the Sovereign Power, for twenty one Years,
" commencing from the Date, viz. *March* 20, 1602. The Patent
" being given out, the Company became a very conſiderable Body,
" and made a joint Stock of 6,600,000 Livres," which, I ſuppoſe, is about 300,000 *l.* Serling.

HERE, Reader, the Truth is come out at laſt: — There were too many *Rivals* in the Trade! — The Price of European Goods was lowered in *India!* — And, dreadful to relate! by the coming of different Ships to the ſame Port, the Natives had the Liberty of trading with thoſe that uſed them beſt! After this plain Demonſtration, dare any Man mutter a Word againſt Monopolies and Excluſions? — For who is ſo blind, but muſt ſee the Neceſſity of them? — Alas, for want of theſe neceſſary Eſtabliſhments, our Merchants trading to *Spain* and *Portugal* are often in the ſame Plight with the above mentioned honeſt *Dutchmen:* That is, for want of a *good Underſtanding among themſelves*, they often ſend Ships to the ſame Port, and lower the Prices to that Degree, that the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* are tempted to purchaſe ten times the Quantities of Woolen Cloths, and other *Engliſh* Manufactures, than they would have done, had the *Trade been properly managed:* Nay, the Evil is ſtill greater; for they bring home ſuch large Quantities of *Spaniſh* Wool, Oils, Iron, Steel, Dye Stuff, and other raw Materials, *that the Market is overſtocked:* And (Reader you *muſt* believe me, for I ſpeak the true mercantile Dialect) *Trade is not worth carrying on, there is ſo little to be got by it.* — However, it is by means of this *bad Trade*, this Trade that is *not worth carrying on*, that the Nation ſubſiſts in its preſent Plenty, and is increaſing in Wealth, and Manufactures every Day. And were you to make the Trade *worth carrying on*, in their Senſe of the Word, you would ſoon have the Comfort of ſinking the Value of Lands to twelve or fourteen Years purchaſe (as they were formerly) and of raiſing the Intereſt of Money to eight or ten *per Cent.* For theſe are the Bleſſings that always attend Monopolies and Excluſions, and Trades that are *worth carrying on.* Indeed the *Turky* Company in the Year 1718, made a noble Effort towards bringing theſe Bleſſings upon us, as ſpeedily

as

as poſſible. For they came to a very pious Reſolution, in a general Court, held for that Purpoſe, the 20th of *March*, which was, *To prevent the Exportation of all Engliſh Manufactures, and the Importation of raw Materials for two whole Years and a Quarter:* And, like true Patriots, they honeſtly and bravely declared, *That this was done with an Intent of raiſing the Price of Engliſh Cloth in Turky, and of Turky raw Silk in England.*—Therefore with this Sample of *excluſive, monopolizing Patriotiſm*, let us (being ſufficiently tired) conclude the Scene, and leave the indignant Reader to make his own Reflections, which, I make no doubt, he will not ſpare.

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And now, after all this Pro-ing and Con-ning, and wading through the Shoals of Abſurdity and Nonſenſe, and ſounding the various Depths of Chicane and Diſhoneſty, I hope to be ſomewhat the ſhorter as to what is to follow.

I. Therefore, in regard to the *Turky* Company, the late Attempts towards opening this Excluſion were greatly defeated by the obſtinate Oppoſition of its few Friends and Advocates. For indeed a very few, by dint of teazing, objecting, perplexing, and other the like honeſt Arts, have it in their Power, in ſuch a Conſtitution as ours, to tire out the Patience of the many, and to gain thoſe Advantages by aſſiduous Attendance and perpetual Oppoſition, to which they have no other Merit, or Pretence. But this Matter will appear the more fully by entering into Particulars.

First, It was the Deſign and Aim of the Friends of Liberty, and an open Trade, to have demoliſhed all Pretences of Fines of Admiſſion. But alas! they could only obtain a Mitigation; the Fine being ſtill 20*l.* which, together with other Items, amount to 22*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* Now a Fine, in the Nature of the Thing, ſuppoſes a Puniſhment for having done ſomething wrong; I aſk therefore, What Crime is there in exporting the Labour and Induſtry of our own People, and importing raw Materials to keep them ſtill imployed? — A Crime, I grant it is againſt the Monopoliſt and Excluder, and a very unpardonable one; but, with Submiſſion, I do not apprehend it is any againſt the State. However, the Anſwer is, That this Fine is neceſſary in order to pay the Expences the Company muſt be at; and at the ſame Time is ſo very ſmall, as to prevent no Perſon of Subſtance from ingaging in the Trade, if he is inclined. — As to the Article of Expences, that ſhall be taken into Conſideration in another Place; but in regard to the Smallneſs of the Fine,

as being no Diſcouragement to Trade, I deny it abſolutely. For every Burden is a Diſcouragement, eſpecially in a new Trade, where the Mind is ballancing, whether it ſhall ingage in it or not. Put the Matter therefore home; and ſuppoſe, that every Man was obliged to pay a Fine of 20*l.* before he *commenced* an Exporter of *Engliſh* Manufactures to *Spain*, or *Portugal*, or the *American* Plantations; — and then I aſk, Can you think, that the Number of Exporters, or the Quantities exported, would be as great as they are at preſent? — If they would not in that Caſe, why ſhould you expect them in this? Beſides, there is a wide Diſtinction to be made between opening a new Trade, and ingaging in an old one, well known and eſtabliſhed. And, in Fact, the *Turky* Trade is ſo little extended, that it may ſtill be conſidered, in a great Meaſure, as unknown: And though the Probability of Succeſs is very great, yet in Caſes of Riſques and Hazards, tell me, where is the Merchant that will give 20*l.* for *a Licence*, merely for the Sake of making Diſcoveries and Experiments? — In ſhort, a new Trade is neceſſarily *precarious* in one degree or other; and the old Stagers will throw all the Difficulties they poſſibly can, in the Way of a new Adventurer. Therefore he ought rather to be aſſiſted, than diſcouraged, by the Legiſlature. For a new Trade is like a Nurſery of young Trees: And as the ſturdy Oak was once a tender Plant, I aſk, Which, in your Opinion, is the beſt Policy, — To cheriſh and fence it round, while it is *young*; or to nip it in the Bud, and deſtroy it, before it can gather Strength?

Secondly, The Tax laid upon Exports, and payable in *Turky*, is a moſt unreaſonable and abſurd Duty. For it is a Tax upon Induſtry and Manufactures; and is the unhappy Remains of thoſe antient Blunders, under which the whole Nation formerly groaned. — I am well aware, that the preſent Pretence is, that this Tax muſt be levied in order to defray the Charges of keeping an Ambaſſador at the Port, and Conſuls in other Cities: And therefore, if the Company did not take this Method of taxing themſelves, the Burden would be laid upon the Public, which hath Burdens enough already. Here now lies the Deluſion! As if a Tax upon Induſtry and Manufactures was no Burden to the Public! And as if the Nation itſelf did not pay the Tax, becauſe the Tax-Gatherers are not called Exciſemen, or Cuſtomhouſe Officers! Strange Infatuation! For if this Tax had been levied, and paid in our own Cuſtomhouſes at the Time of Exportation, every Man in the Kingdom would have acknowledged, in that Caſe, that it was a Tax upon the Public; — and (what is much worſe) a Tax upon the *Manufacturing*

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THIRDLY, This Power granted to the Company of taxing the Manufactures of the Kingdom, brings on another great Inconvenience along with it; *viz.* The Power of paying the Ambaſſadors and Conſuls. For the Governors, or Directors of the Company are, of Courſe, in the ſole Poſſeſſion of this Power. And a very moderate Inſight into human Nature, will ſuffice to teach us, that ſuch a Prerogative carries a vaſt Influence along with it; An Influence the more dangerous, as there is no guarding againſt it by private Regulations, or detecting it in a legal Way; there being thouſands of Inſtances, wherein the Ambaſſadors, and Conſuls can favour one Set of Men, and prejudice the others, without doing any thing that a Court of Judicature can puniſh, or take hold of. This being the Caſe, whom, do you think, will they be ſo likely to favour, as the Men who can *accelerate*, or *retard* the Payment of their Salaries, and can always find out plauſible Reaſons for making them *additional Gratuities*, by way of Recompenſe for their *extraordinary* Services, and ſignal Merits? or, on whom will they turn the dark Side of their Horizon, but on thoſe, who are not in the Intereſt of, perhaps in Oppoſition to the Governors and Directors? In ſhort, this ſingle Article, were there no others, hath a neceſſary Tendency towards throwing the whole Trade into the Hands of the Merchants belonging to the Metropolis, and excluding all the Out-Ports. Judge therefore, whether you can call ſuch a Trade a *free one*. But as in other Caſes one Evil begets another, ſo it is in this; for

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arrive in *Turky*. Now the latent Miſchief which will neceſſarily reſult from this Order, is the following, That the governing Part of the Company will always diſcover what kind of Trade is carried on by every other Member; whereas the other Members, eſpecially thoſe of the Out-Ports, will not have the ſame Advantage over them. And I appeal to every ſenſible, mercantile Perſon, whether he would chuſe to inform his *Rival* of every Branch of Trade he is carrying on, and of every *new* Attempt he intends to make, at the ſame time that his Rival conceals all from him? — And whether he doth not think, that this ſingle Diſadvantage is not of prodigious Conſequence in the Courſe of Trade, and hath an immediate Tendency towards a Monopoly, and Excluſion?

FIFTHLY, Another Difficulty ſtill remaining is, The Prohibition againſt imploying any Agents or Factors, but *Engliſh-born* Subjects. For why ſhould this Prohibition ſtill continue? and what Intereſt can it ſerve but that of a Monopoly? If *Engliſh-born* Factors will vend the greateſt Quantity of *Engliſh* Labour in *Turky*, they ought to have, and certainly will have the Preference, becauſe they are beſt known at home; and it will be the Intereſt of the Exporter to imploy them. But if *Engliſh* Agents aim at great Profits upon ſmall Exports, they are the worſt Commercial Enemies the *Engliſh* Nation can have; and therefore deſerve no kind of Preference, or Incouragement. Beſides, every excluſive Privilege is a Temptation to do amiſs; and when *Engliſh* Factors abroad know that their Conſtituents at home are reſtrained from imploying any but themſelves, they are tempted to do ſuch Things, and to make ſuch bad Uſes of their Power, as never would have entered into their Heads, had the Trade been free.

SIXTHLY, The Oath of Secrecy is another ſtrange Abſurdity ſtill remaining. For what is a Member of the Company to keep ſecret? nay, why is he put at all under ſuch an Obligation? Is he to keep ſecret, That he will ſell as cheap as he can afford; and give as good a Price to the Natives for their Goods, as any other of his Rivals? If this is the Secret, it were better it were publiſhed on the Houſe Top. —But undoubtedly the Reader expects to hear of Secrets of another kind; and he ſhall not be diſappointed: For the Secrets referred to in this Oath are the *Secrets of Trade*, and the *Secrets of an excluſive Company*; of which the following Rule, or Order, may probably ſerve as a goodly Specimen; which you will find in their Books under the Article of BATTULATIONS; *viz.* "It was reſolved and ordered, that as "it is very expedient to avoid as much as poſſible the having Recourſe

"to

" to the Tribunals of the Country, in all Matters of Commerce in " *Turky*, and as it hath been found by long Experience, that the Bat- " tulation of (or Interdiction of all farther Commerce with) ſuch Sub- " jects of the Country, as ſhall act fraudulently, and refuſe to give " juſt Satisfaction, or perſevere in unwarrantable and irregular Prac- " tices, or, *in Caſe of Diſpute in any Matter of Buſineſs*, refuſe to ſub- " mit to the National [*Engliſh*] Magiſtrate, or to an equal Arbitration, " —has been of great Uſe towards this, and other good Ends for the " Benefit of the Trade of His Majeſty's Subjects into the *Levant:* If " any Factor, or Factors, ſhall have *any manner* of Dealings with, or " by any Perſon *battulated* by the Lord Ambaſſador, or by the Conſul " of any of the Scales in *Turky*, with the *Advice of the reſpective Fac-* " *tories*; ſuch Factor, or Factors, ſhall pay a Fine for every Offence, to " the Amount of three Conſulages upon the Value of the Tranſaction " by, or with ſuch *battulated* Perſon. And the Lord Ambaſſador at " *Conſtantinople*, and the Conſuls at *Smyrna* and *Aleppo*, for the Time " being, ſhall, upon full and legal Proof of ſuch Offence, IMMEDI- " ATELY levy the ſaid Fine upon the Offender by DISTRAINT, or " OTHERWISE, without admitting ANY APPEAL to the Company, to " be paid to the Company's Treaſurer for their ſole Uſe and Benefit, " and not chargeable to the Account of the Factor's Principal."

Now it muſt be owned, that ſuch Reſolutions as theſe ought to be kept *ſecret:* For no Government upon Earth would willingly ſubmit to ſuch an Indignity as is here offered to the *Ottoman* Port by the *Turky* Company; an Indignity the more outrageous, as it is committed within its own Territories, and by thoſe Perſons who reſide there only upon Sufferance. Put the Caſe therefore, that the *Turks* traded to *England*, inſtead of the *Engliſh* to *Turky*; and that theſe INFIDELS and FOREIGNERS ſhould take upon them to erect a Tribunal of their own, in Oppoſition to the Tribunals of the *Engliſh* Nation; and by Virtue of this extra-judicial Court ſhould *battulate*, that is, excommunicate, or out-law, not only one another, but the Natives themſelves; —I aſk therefore, Is there a Man in *Great Britain*, that would not reſent ſuch an Affront, and think the Perſons who committed it very unworthy of the Favour and Protection of the *Britiſh* Nation? Beſides, ſuppoſing that an *Engliſh* Factor had a Difference with a Native *Turk*, or *Grecian*, why muſt the other Factors quarrel with him upon this Account? For if the Native of the Country has the Character of being a fraudulent, diſhoneſt Man, and really deſerves it, the other Factors need not be told, much leſs *compelled*, to break off

off their Connections and Correſpondence with him; becauſe it will be, at leaſt, as much their Intereſt in *Turky* to ſhun, or avoid a Rogue or a Knave, as it is their Intereſt in *England*. But if the chief Crime of this *battulated*, or *outlawed* Perſon is, that he hath not bowed the Knee to *Baal*, and has dared to diſoblige the *lordly* Conſul, or ſome *leading* Factor at the Scale, what is that to the *Britiſh* Nation? And why muſt every other Conſideration be ſacrificed to the implacable Reſentment of a *Baſhaw* Conſul, or a *Baſhaw* Factor? In ſhort, this Rule, or Order of the Company, is worded ſo very looſely, that it may be made to ſignify any Thing, or every Thing whatever: And if a Native of *Turky* may be battulated *for perſevering in unwarrantable, or irregular Practices, and for not ſubmitting to the national* Engliſh *Magiſtrates in any Caſe of Diſpute about Buſineſs*, I ſhould be glad to know, what particular Rule the Company have (if this is not likewiſe as great a *Secret* as the reſt) to determine and limit the Meaning of theſe general Words?—Sure I am, that if the Writer of theſe Sheets was in the Power of the Company, he would be BATTULATED to a Purpoſe, for his thus *perſevering* in his *unwarrantable*, and *irregular Practices*, in writing againſt Monopolies. — But though the Affair is ſo extravagantly abſurd, as to tempt a Man to treat it ludicrouſly; yet it is too tragical a Subject for Ridicule. And when the Reader has been informed, that even *Engliſhmen* themſelves have been put under this imperial Ban of Battulation, nothing more need be added towards raiſing in him a juſt Spirit of Indignation againſt theſe Tyrannies, and Oppreſſions. Thus much therefore may ſuffice by way of Specimen, concerning the *Secrets* and *Myſteries* of Monopolies and Excluſions.—And I can aſſure the Reader, that the *Turky* Company (tho' ſeveral other Samples might be given) are not worſe, perhaps not ſo bad in theſe Reſpects, as ſome others that might be named.

SEVENTHLY and laſtly, The Continuance of the Prohibition againſt exporting Coin, or Bullion, is another Abſurdity, and tyrannical Impoſition: It is an *Abſurdity*, becauſe the chief Call for Money in *Turky*, according to the Company's own Account, is to purchaſe Raw Silk, and Mohair Yarn: Judge therefore, which deſerves the Preference among a *manufacturing* Nation, a Lump of Gold or Silver, or a Bale of Raw Materials? and conſider, which imploys the moſt Hands, or circulates the moſt Labour? — It is likewiſe a *tyrannical Impoſition*, becauſe the governing Part of the Company never can, in the Nature of the Thing, be ſubject to this Reſtriction. For, *Quis Cuſtodes cuſtodiet ipſos?* Who will be able to reſtrain the leading Men, and chief Factors from

from exporting that kind of Goods, by which they are to get moſt? Therefore, if they can make uſe of ſuch a Pretence in order to keep down the Market of Raw Silk in *Turky*, and ſo prevent their *Rivals*, eſpecially thoſe of the *Out-Ports*, from buying with ready Money, is it to be ſuppoſed, that they will not take the Advantage, and make the better Bargain for themſelves? — Thoſe who can believe the contrary, know very little of human Nature, and nothing at all of excluſive Companies. — But as the Affair of the Exportation of Coin, or Bullion, is to come more profeſſedly upon the Carpet in the inſuing Chapter, we will not anticipate it at preſent.

SUCH therefore being the preſent State of the *Turky* Company, I appeal to all the World, whether this Trade can be ſaid to be truly FREE? Nay, whether it doth not ſtill bear about it the evident Marks of Monopoly, and Excluſion? In ſhort, there is not the leaſt Shadow of a Pretence for keeping up an *incorporated* Company to trade to *Turky*, but what might equally ſerve for erecting a new one to trade to *Spain*, and *Portugal*, or almoſt any other Kingdom. And if the antient Company trading to *Spain* had not been yet demoliſhed (for there was a Time, when even this Trade was under an Excluſion) the ſame ſort of Pretences would now have been urged at this Day for the Continuance of the one, which are brought at preſent in Support of the other. Nay, if we conſider the Nature and Temper of the *Spaniards*, their exceſſive Jealouſy with regard to their Wives and Daughters, their extreme Bigotry, their frequent Proceſſions and public Adorations of the Hoſt, together with the Rigour and Strictneſs of the Inquiſition; eſpecially their ſearching after heretical, or prohibited Books; — and if we contraſt theſe Things with the licentious Diſpoſitions and Behaviour of an *Engliſh* Sailor, and the Thirſt of a *Britiſh* Merchant after Gain, we muſt confeſs, that the Objections againſt opening a Trade to *Spain* would make a much more formidable Appearance than any that can be alledged in behalf of other Excluſions. — But if you once eſtabliſh a Company, they will never want Pretences for the Continuance of it. And therefore there is but one way to make the Trade truly free and uſeful; and that is, to demoliſh the Company intirely, and thereby effectually cut off all Artifices, and Pretexts of making By-Laws and Regulations *for the good Government of Trade*. For as long as theſe remain, do what you will, Monopoly and Excluſion will creep in, and cover themſelves under a thouſand different Diſguiſes. In ſhort, this Commercial Hydra muſt be *pierced to the Heart*, if you hope to deſtroy it: For the Lopping off an Head, or two, will ſignify little, when

twenty

twenty others are ready to ſprout up. Nay, the very *Ruſſia* Company, which, one would think, hath the leaſt Power of doing Miſchief of any in the World, yet find Ways and Means to exclude thoſe Perſons, particularly *Ruſſians* and Foreigners, from the Freedom of Trade, whoſe Intereſt interferes with that of the leading Men of the Company, or the chief Factors abroad; ſeveral Inſtances of this Nature having been clearly proved at the Bar of the honourable Houſe of Commons a few Seſſions ago. Let therefore the *Turky* Trade be put upon the ſame Footing as that to *Spain* and *Portugal*; and let the Expences of Ambaſſadors and Conſuls be born by the Public, and carried to the Account of the *current Service of the Year:* And this Polity alone will be ſufficient. Indeed the Public bears all at preſent, and that in the moſt diſadvantageous Way that could poſſibly be contrived. For the Method of taxing Manufactures exported, and Raw Materials imported, is the ſame Abſurdity in Trade, as it would be in Mechanics to uſe the *diſadvantageous Lever* in order to aſſiſt your natural Strength. And every Butcher can tell us, that a Quarter of a Pound at the long End of the Steelyard, can weigh down an hundred Weight placed at the ſhort End: Juſt ſo it is in regard to Taxes; For a Tax upon Manufactures exported, or Raw Materials imported, is an heavier Tax than four hundred times the Sum, when properly laid on. Therefore, it is high time that all theſe abſurd Practices ſhould be aboliſhed; and Things put upon their proper Footing. And then, and *not till then*, the Trade will BE FREE.

II. IN regard to another great Monopoly, *viz.* The *Hudſon*'s Bay Company, the Caſe ſtands thus; When King *Charles* II. was reſtored, he not only revived all the former Monopolies relating to foreign Trade, but created as many new ones, foreign and domeſtic, as the Times would then admit; I ſay, *then* admit: For the arbitrary Proceedings of *Charles* I. in relation to theſe Things, were too odious, and too recent for the Son to proceed immediately the ſame exorbitant Lengths. And as theſe Stretches of the Prerogative in the preceding Reign brought on the firſt Complaints, according to Lord *Clarendon*'s own Account, ſo it is obſervable, That when the Parliamentary Party got to be uppermoſt, they aboliſhed, or at leaſt ſuperſeded all excluſive Charters relating to foreign Trade. And this Fact is the more remarkable, inaſmuch as the *Turky* Company (of whom ſo much hath been ſaid in the preceding Article) were pleaſed to call it a *Grievance*, and to make it the

Baſis

Baſis of their Petition to King *Charles* II. ſoon after his Reſtoration, in order to obtain a new Charter, and ſuch other new Powers as were ſtill more excluding and oppreſſive; *viz.* " And whereas by the humble " Petition of the ſaid Governor and Company of Merchants of *Eng-* " *land* trading into the *Levant* Seas, We are given to underſtand, That " in theſe *late Times of Libertiniſm*, many of the *known* Privileges of " the ſaid Company have been *violated*, —— KNOW YE, *&c.*" Now that the Reader may likewiſe know a little concerning theſe *libertine Violations*, it may not be amiſs to recite one of them by way of Sample; *viz.* " And for that divers Perſons our Subjects of refractory and " perverſe Minds, ſeeking as much as in them lieth to diſturb the ſaid " Trade, by wilful refuſing to Account with their Principals, and to " pay the Company's Duties;—And otherwiſe by attempting, or prac- " tiſing to violate, break, and make void the Privileges of the ſaid " Company, or any of them; ☞ And being of ſcandalous Life do ap- " peal oftentimes from the Juſtice of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, or Con- " ſuls, or Vice-Conſuls, to *Turkiſh* Judicatories and Juſtice, to the " great Prejudice of the ſaid Company and Trade, and the Diſhonour " of the *Engliſh* Nation, and Scandal of their Religion. WE willing " to prevent, *&c.*"

SEE here now, a ſelfiſh, graſping, excluſive Company, transformed all of a ſudden into a godly, benevolent Society for the Reformation of Manners! And, what is ſtranger ſtill, the *Profanely-Popiſh* King *Charles* II. converted into an holy Zealot for the Honour of the Chriſtian Religion, and the Proteſtant Faith! Surely we have great Reaſon to expect rare Doings in conſequence of ſuch good Beginnings! And therefore, after having re-eſtabliſhed the * *Turky* Company, the *Eaſt India* Company, and ſome others, the King proceeded to erect this new one of the *Hudſon*'s Bay, putting them in Poſſeſſion, as far as Parchment and Wax could do it, of a Country without Bounds or Limits, (but which we know for Certainty is about as big as half *Europe*, and how much more we cannot tell) and conſtituting twenty or thirty private Men the abſolute Sovereigns of this immenſe, and hideous Waſte. If you ſhould aſk, With what View this was done? I can

 anſwer,

* The Charter for the *Turky* Company is dated the 2d of *April*, 1661, that for the *Eaſt India* Company was granted the very next Day:—And I believe ſeveral others, *viz.* The *Guiney* Company, the *Morea* Company (a Sprout of the *Turky* Company) the *Muſcovia* Company, and the *Greenland* Company (which was a Branch of it) the *Hamborough* Company, the *Eaſt Land* Company, *&c.* were re-eſtabliſhed either this Year, or the enſuing.—In ſuch Haſte were the *Stuart* Family to return to their old Courſes of Ruling by Prerogative.

anſwer, That the View of the Company was, to export as little as poſſible of the *Britiſh* Manufactures, and to import as little as poſſible of raw Materials, in order to get the more exorbitant Price both for the one, and the other: And they have greatly ſucceeded in both theſe deſtructive Schemes. For the *Britiſh* Manufactures ſell at *Hudſon*'s Bay, one with another, after the Rate of four hundred *per Cent.* more than they would have done, had the Trade been free: That is, † If you ſuppoſe the Quantity of Manufactures now exported, to coſt here at home four thouſand Pounds, then, inſtead of ſending out four thouſand Pounds worth of Labour to purchaſe Furrs and Peltry, we ſhould have ſent

† This State of the Exports, and Imports of the *Hudſon*'s Bay Company, is much more favourable on their Side, than it need have been, had we gone to the Rigour of the Matter: But I was willing to let the Reader ſee the miſchievous Effects of theſe Devourers of Mankind, *Monopolies*, when viewed even in the moſt favourable Light. For the Account given in the Pamphlet, entitled, *A ſhort State of the Countries and Trade of* North America *claimed by the* Hudſon's *Bay Company*, London, *Printed for* J. Robinſon, 1749, Page 5, is as follows; "The Company, to engroſs this beneficial Trade to themſelves, and to prevent its being known, or inquired into by the Merchants of *Britain*, confine their Trade in this extenſive Continent, to the Exporting of Goods and Manufactures to the Value of three thouſand ſix hundred Pounds annually, at a Medium; *in which is included Proviſions and Neceſſaries for their Servants at their Factories:* And for that Export, import annually Furrs, Peltry, *&c.* to the Value of about thirty or forty thouſand Pounds: When, if theſe Countries were ſettled, and the Trade extended and improved, by civilizing and incorporating with the Natives, ☞ allowing them a more equitable Trade, and carrying up our Manufactures into their Countries by theſe large navigable Rivers in Summer, and by Sledges in Winter, and by that means imploying more of the Natives in Hunting, and inabling them to become induſtrious;—our *Britiſh* Exports might reaſonably increaſe to two hundred thouſand Pounds, and our Imports from thence to above four hundred thouſand Pounds in a very ſhort Time, as by preſumptive Proofs may be eaſily made appear." Now the Views of the Company are juſt the Reverſe of every Thing here recommended.—And yet bad as this is, they have found a Man hardy enough to undertake their Defence in a *public Manner*; and even to juſtify the Smallneſs of their Exports, confidently aſſerting, That it is more for the Nation's Advantage to export four thouſand Pounds worth of Labour, than ſixteen thouſand Pounds worth; that is, That it is better for the Kingdom, that one Fleece of Wool ſhould be uſed, one Spinner, Weaver, Scribler, Dyer, Clothier, Carrier, Factor, Porter, Packer, Sailor, *&c. &c.* be imployed; than that four Fleeces ſhould be uſed, or four Spinners, Weavers, and four times as many of all the reſt of the long Liſt of Trades-people ſhould be imployed: And in ſhort, that Induſtry and Rivalſhip ought to be checked and diſcouraged, as being contrary to the Intereſts of a Nation, becauſe they are repugnant to the Views of Monopoliſts. Is this Man now a Judge of National Commerce, and of the means of promoting it?—Or if he is, can you look upon this as a Specimen of it? Surely, either his *Head*, or his *Heart* muſt be greatly here in Fault. If out of four Spinners, Weavers, *&c.* in a Pariſh, three of them ſhould want Work by means of this Monopoly, and become chargeable to the Pariſh, will this Gentleman, or will the Company pay for their Maintenance, and take upon themſelves that Burden, of which they have been the real Authors?

ſent out four times as much, *viz.* Sixteen thouſand Pounds worth to purchaſe the *ſame Quantity* of Furrs and Peltry: Moreover, when this Quantity is brought home to *England*, it is ſold at preſent *Cent. per Cent.* dearer than it would have been, had the Trade to *Hudſon*'s Bay been as open to all Adventurers as that to *Newfoundland*, *Greenland*, *Nova Scotia*, &c. &c. that is, the ſame given Quantity of Furrs and Peltry which now ſell for forty thouſand Pounds, would gladly have been ſold for twenty thouſand Pounds:—which indeed would have been ſufficient Profit, *viz.* twenty five *per Cent.* upon the Voyage. Therefore in regard to *Exports*, this Company defrauds the Nation of of *three-fourths* of the Quantity of Labour or Induſtry, which it hath a Right to have, according to the Nature of Commerce; and in regard to *Imports*, it lays a Tax on *Raw Materials* of *Cent. per Cent.* as a Diſcouragement to future Induſtry; and by that Means actually ſtifles numberleſs Branches of Commerce in the very Birth. But this is not all: For if the rival Traders would have exported ſixteen thouſand Pounds worth of *Britiſh* Manufactures, where the *Monopoliſts* export only four thouſand Pounds, in order to obtain the very ſame Quantity of *Indian* Goods; they would, for the like Reaſon, have augmented their Exportations, in order to augment their Imports: That is, they would ſend out ſtill greater Quantities of Manufactures, in order to tempt the *Indians* by Cheapneſs, and good Uſage, to bring down ſtill greater Quantities of Furrs and Skins: And it is well known, that the *Indians* might, and would bring down ten times the Quantities, provided they had proper Incouragement ſo to do. Hence therefore it is plain, that even this ſingle Article of Trade, as now carried on, might be extended, in relation to *Exports* from four thouſand to ſixteen thouſand Pounds, and from ſixteen thouſand Pounds to one hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds worth of Labour. And in relation to *Imports*, the Quantity of Raw Materials would have been juſt ten times as much, and at Half-Price. — So far as to the preſent ſtaple Trade;— But we have, by no means, as yet ſeen thro' all the ill Conſequences attending Charters of Monopolies. For theſe Excluſions not only prevent the natural Expanſion of that Trade, in which they are at preſent concerned; but alſo are a Bar againſt opening any new Sources, or making any farther Diſcoveries. And indeed, why ſhould a Monopoliſt, who can cooly, and quietly, and without Riſque, get an *Exceeding* of four hundred *per Cent.* upon his Exports, and *Cent. per Cent.* upon his Imports,—Why, I ſay, ſhould ſuch an one think of opening new Channels, or of making farther Diſcoveries in the Way of Trade?

For all new Attempts and Experiments muſt be attended at firſt with certain Expence, and with a conſiderable Degree of Uncertainty, as to the final Event, or future Succeſs. Therefore theſe Attempts are ſeldom, or ever made but in a *free Trade*, where *rival* Adventurers, puſhing againſt each other, *over-ſtock the Trade*, as the Phraſe is; and then ſome of them find it neceſſary to leave the old frequented Road, wherein are too many Travellers, and to beat out new Paths for themſelves: A Circumſtance this, though diſagreeable to a Monopoliſt, yet the moſt advantageous to National Commerce of any in the World; becauſe almoſt all new Trades, Improvements, and Inventions, take their Riſe from this Cauſe. — So far therefore may ſuffice to ſet forth the Views of the Company in petitioning for the Excluſion. As to the Views of the Court in granting it, theſe Things will come more fully under our Conſideration in the inſuing APPENDIX, to which therefore we refer them.

BUT having traced the Matter thus far; the grand Queſtion returns at preſent, *viz.* What is to be done with this Company now it is eſtabliſhed? For you muſt know, that the Rights and Privileges of chartered Companies are ſacred Things, and muſt not be violated; though the Monopoliſts themſelves are violating the NATURAL RIGHTS of Mankind every Day, and were incorporated for that very Intent. — Therefore two Propoſals will here occur; *viz.* Either the intire Reſumption of the Charter, upon a valuable Conſideration given by the Public: Or a Permiſſion granted to all others to trade in ſuch Places, which the Company have left unoccupied, and where they have made no Eſtabliſhments. As to this latter Propoſal, it would certainly anſwer all the Ends of National Commerce as well as the former, if the Country were already peopled, as the *Eaſt Indies* are; and if no Colonies were intended to be planted. But ſeeing the Country lies now in a deſolate State, in a manner without Inhabitants; and thoſe few being *Savages* for this plain Reaſon, *becauſe they are ſo few*; — and ſeeing likewiſe, that this Country is extremely proper for ſettling a Colony, as ſhall be preſently made to appear; therefore the former Propoſal is the only eligible one in the preſent Caſe; *viz.* To reſume the Charter, giving the Company a valuable Conſideration. Now were this Conſideration to be given them only in Proportion to their public Merit, or their private Expences in ſettling the Trade, the Account would be ſoon made up. For as to their public Merit, I am perſuaded every Reader (himſelf not intereſted in, or *connected with* the Company) hath adjuſted in his Mind already, what ought to be paid them on that Score:

Score: And in regard to their Expences in ſettling the Trade, one might really conclude, that a Trade which hath for theſe thirty or forty Years laſt paſt brought in a Profit of at leaſt three hundred *per Cent.* clear of all Deductions whatſoever, hath by this Time pretty well paid for the *original* Expences; ſo that a Bill of this Nature could not be a *very* large one. But, here the Reader will be told by the Champion for Monopolies, that the Author of theſe Sheets is a PRATING SCANDALOUS LIAR; and perhaps too he may be told it (as was lately the Caſe) in ſuch a Place, where the poor Author can make no Reply;—he therefore humbly hopes, that he may without Offence anticipate this Matter, by confeſſing his Guilt, and ſhewing, wherein he is a *Liar:* In the firſt Place then, as the whole annual Exports of the Company do not riſe higher than four thouſand Pounds, *communibus Annis*; nay, not near ſo high, when proper Deductions are made for the Proviſions and Neceſſaries which are carried out on the Account, and for the Uſe of the Company's Servants;—and as their Returns and yearly Sales amount, at a Medium, to thirty five thouſand Pounds a Year; the Author humbly conceives, that he cannot be reckoned a *very ſcandalous Liar* in affirming, that the *Clearings* of the Company are at leaſt three hundred *per Cent.* In the next Place, as to the Dividend upon the Joint-Stock;—*here he confeſſes his Guilt:* For the Dividend is indeed ſo far from being three hundred Pounds, that it is nearer three *per Cent.* nay, if this Affair ſhould ever be brought before the Parliament, perhaps it would then be MADE TO APPEAR, that the Dividend was hardly two *per Cent.*—Now this is one of thoſe *Secrets* of Trade, which none but the Adepts ſhould be initiated into. However, ſince they have fallen into ſuch unhallowed Hands as mine, I will boldly divulge them, and take the Conſequences. Know then, that the *original* Joint-Stock of this Company was ten thouſand five hundred Pounds Sterling: And when they found, that the Profits of the Trade were immenſe on ſuch a trifling Capital, they were pleaſed to *call* that ten, twenty;—and by the ſame *golden* Rule in Arithmetic they proceeded to *call* that twenty, forty;—and forty, eighty;—and from eighty, according to the laſt Accounts, it is ſwelled up now to an hundred and twenty: And how far this Joint-Stock Tumour, or monopolizing Tympany, is yet to extend itſelf, in order to prove me a *prating ſcandalous Liar* before the moſt Auguſt Aſſembly in the World, I cannot pretend to ſay. But, be that as it may:—If the *nominal* Joint-Stock were one hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds, or even double that Sum, it would be the Intereſt of the *Britiſh* Nation to buy it out,

and

and take Poſſeſſion of the Country: And no Time ſhould be loſt; inaſmuch as this Country is particularly adapted by Nature for the Reception of a *Britiſh* Colony: For

In the firſt Place, If a *North-Weſt* Paſſage is ever to be diſcovered, the ſettling of a Colony on the Continent of *Hudſon*'s Bay is the only Way to do it, and the only Method of appropriating the Uſe and Benefit of ſuch a Paſſage to ourſelves. Nay, ſuppoſing even that there is no Paſſage (which is not a likely Suppoſition) yet the Diſtance between Sea and Sea cannot be great, becauſe the Degrees of Longitude in *Hudſon*'s Bay in *America*, and the Degrees of Longitude on the *Northern* Coaſts of *Aſia* have been found by the *Engliſh* on one ſide, and the *Ruſſians* on the other, to approach very near to each other: And perhaps ſome future Navigators may bring the Diſcoveries on both Sides much nearer. But even grant the worſt, grant, I ſay, that the Land from Sea to Sea, or from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, is twenty or thirty Degrees of Longitude; now this, in ſo *high a Latitude* as the upper End of *Hudſon*'s Bay, cannot be more than four hundred, or at moſt ſix hundred Miles: And whoever conſiders the peculiar Conveniencies of carrying Goods in Northern Climates by means of Sledges in Winter, and navigable Rivers in Summer, will find, that this Diſtance is of no more Conſequence in regard to Trade, than an hundred Miles with us.—Nay, the *Ruſſians* bring all their Hemp from the *Ukraine*, and their Iron from *Siberia* to *Petersburg* at a much leſs Expence, than Goods are carried from *Briſtol* to *London*; though the Diſtance is ten times as far. Thus therefore, even at the worſt, might an eaſy Communication be opened between the two Seas; and a quick Paſſage found out for all the *Engliſh* Manufactures, particularly for the two chief (I mean the Woollen and Iron Manufactures) into all thoſe immenſe Countries of *America* and *Aſia* hitherto diſcovered, or undiſcovered; and the Returns and Raw Materials of thoſe Countries imported into *Great Britain*. Now if ſuch a Conſideration as this is ſtill to be ſacrificed to the Schemes and Cabals of an injurious Monopoly, uſurping over the *natural Rights* of Mankind, who can we blame but ourſelves? And what Pretence can we have to complain for the future of the Want of Trade, and the Burden of the Poor, if we neglect thoſe Things which at any time we have the Power to command in regard to the Company, and the Ability to execute in reſpect to ourſelves?—I ſay, the *Ability* in reſpect to ourſelves: For

In the ſecond Place, The Highlanders of *Scotland* have every Qualification you could wiſh to have in the firſt Settlers of ſuch a Country. Their

Their Highland Dreſs, their Diet, their Dwellings, Genius, Imployments, and Diverſions, — all beſpeak them the fitteſt People in the World for ſuch an Undertaking. And therefore, though the diſloyal Clans of the *Camerons*, *Mac Donalds*, *Mac Pherſons*, *Mac Cleans*, *Mac Intoſhes*, &c. &c. are very bad Neighbours in the Highlands of *Scotland*, yet they would make very uſeful Subjects, and be a ſufficient Guard of the Frontiers againſt the Incroachments of the *French*, if four or five independent Companies were raiſed, and ſent into the Southern Parts of *Hudſon*'s Bay. Nay, in a very little Time theſe People, as they can already bear equal Hardſhips and Fatigue, would acquire the ſame Dexterity in Hunting, and catching Beaver, as the Natives themſelves: And moreover, as the reſpective natural Diſpoſitions, Ways of Living, Countries and Climates, are ſo ſimilar one to the other, ſuch new Comers would the more eaſily intermix, and incorporate with the original Inhabitants. A Circumſtance always to be deſired in eſtabliſhing Colonies. — In ſhort, for my Part, I can ſee but one poſſible Objection to this Propoſal; and that is ſuch an one, as none but the Advocates for an excluſive Company would attempt to make; *viz.* That this Propoſal ſavours of Diſaffection and Diſloyalty, inaſmuch as it would be paving the Way to make the Chevalier King of *Hudſon*'s Bay. — However, while this Country is in the Hands of the Company, it is to be hoped, we have nothing to fear: For doubtleſs, they will give ſtrict Orders to their *grand* Army of one hundred and twenty Men to make a *brave* Defence; ſuch an one as they made in Queen *Ann*'s Wars, when a *French* Privateer of about fifty Men, ſummoned the beſt Fort in their vaſt Territories to ſurrender at Diſcretion: — Which the *prudent* Governor immediately did without ſtriking a Stroke.

THIRDLY, Were the magic Spell of an excluſive Company diſſolved, a Colony ſettled, and the Trade laid open, — the *Britiſh* Nation is, of all others, the moſt capable of trading with ſuch a Colony to *mutual* Advantage, and conſequently of promoting a mutual Intereſt, and beneficial Intercourſe. — For in regard to the Colony, there is no Nation in *Europe* that can take off ſo great a Quantity of Furrs, and Peltry, both for their own Conſumption, as well as for Exportation, as the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*. Moreover, ſhould any new Sources of Trade be attempted to be opened, ſhould Fiſheries be eſtabliſhed, Mines of Lead, Tin, Copper, *&c.* or Quarries of Marble, or indeed ſhould any other Sort of Raw Materials be diſcovered, where is the Kingdom that could receive ſuch Quantities, and find a Vent for them,

as

as our own can do? Or where is the Nation that hath ſo great a Number of mercantile Perſons, with large Capitals, willing and ready to ingage in ſuch Undertakings? And on the other Hand, with regard to the Manufactures of *Great Britain*, the very Climate and Situation of *Hudſon*'s Bay would oblige the Inhabitants to purchaſe the warm, and coarſe Woollens, and all kinds of Iron Manufactures, and Houſhold Goods, and almoſt all the Implements of Huſbandry, and Fiſhing, from the Mother Country. Nay, even *Britiſh* Spirituous Liquors, or *Weſt India* Rum, would be leſs noxious in ſuch a Climate than in any other; and though the Importers of them into *Africa*, and the more Southerly Countries of *America*, are the *certain Murderers* of the Inhabitants, to the no leſs Detriment of Trade, than Breach of Morals, and Diſhonour of Religion; yet they might import them for the Uſe of Fiſhermen at *Hudſon*'s Bay without doing any Injury at all. In ſhort, the Circumſtances both of the Mother Country, and of the Colony propoſed would be ſuch, that their reſpective Intereſts muſt always co-incide, and never could claſh with each other. — And what could you deſire more?

FOURTHLY, The *Britiſh* Nation are in great want of ſuch a Country as *Hudſon*'s Bay, for the Purpoſes of diſpoſing of their numerous Convicts and Maleſactors in a proper Manner. For this Country is ſo ſituated by having the *French* Colonies to the *South*, and the Polar Circle to the *North*, with the Sea and *Terra de Labrador* to the *Eaſt*, and undiſcovered Regions to the *Weſt*, that it would effectually anſwer the ſame Ends to us, which *Siberia* doth to the *Ruſſians*. Beſides, the very Idea of Tranſportation as a Puniſhment for Crimes points out this Country, preferably to any other. For Convicts ought not to be ſent into a *populous* Country, where their bad Example might corrupt the innocent Natives; nor into a rich, and fertile Country, where they have the ſame Opportunities, and conſequently the ſame Temptations of returning to their evil Courſes, which they had before; neither ought they to be placed in ſuch a Situation, where they may return, almoſt at Pleaſure, to the Mother Country. — Therefore the Method of ſending Convicts to thoſe Plantations on the Continent of *America*, that are populous already, rich and flouriſhing, where they may eſcape from one Colony to another, or return to *England* at Pleaſure, is very wrong, abſurd, and impolitic. And indeed moſt of the Provinces in *North America* are now ſo ſenſible of the Evils ariſing from this Cauſe, that they have prohibited the Importing of Convicts under very ſevere Penalties. Nor did they paſs theſe Laws without great Occaſion for them;

them; it being a known Fact, that the *Men* Convicts actually carry on at this preſent Time a kind of regular Exchange of ſtolen Goods, particularly Horſes, by the following Method; *viz.* The Thieves of the Southern and Northern Provinces meet each other half way, and there barter their ill gotten Merchandize, and then return home to diſpoſe of them with Confidence and Impunity. And as to the *Women* Convicts, there is no need to be very deſcriptive in ſetting forth the numberleſs bad Conſequences that muſt reſult from ſuch experienced Tutrices, and diſeaſed Tempters.—Now *Hudſon*'s Bay being a *cold, barren, uninhabited* Country, of an *immenſe Extent*, and yet *ſhut up* on all Sides, hath every Qualification that is requiſite for making Tranſportation a real Puniſhment: And moreover, as all Temptations towards their former Crimes are effectually removed; and as there can be no living or ſubſiſting without Induſtry and Labour, the Perſons ſent thither would have the beſt Chance in the World of reforming, and becoming Good,—the true End of Puniſhment; and, I will add, the true Intereſt of every State to promote. I aſk therefore, would it not be the moſt uſeful Step that could be taken in our Circumſtances, to deſtroy this Monopoly immediately, and erect a Colony? Nay more, would it not be expedient to enact a Law, changing the Puniſhment of Whipping and hard Labour into Tranſportation? For it is evident to all the World, that our Jails and Bridewells are no Schools of Reformation: Nay, it is certain, that for one Perſon, *Male* or *Female*, whoſe Morals are bettered by ſuch a Puniſhment, thouſands are hardened and corrupted. In ſhort, were Death to be inflicted only in Caſes of *Murder*, or *High-Treaſon*, and all other Crimes to be puniſhed with Tranſportation to this *Engliſh Siberia* for a longer, or a ſhorter Time, according to the Nature of the Offence, we ſhould approach nearer to the Rules of Equity, we ſhould temper Mercy and Juſtice properly together, we ſhould clear our Streets of bad Subjects, nay, of the Peſts of Mankind, while they remained here at home; and yet by means of this ſingle Polity, make them good, uſeful, and virtuous, by ſending them abroad. — And *Hudſon*'s Bay is of that prodigious Extent, that if ten thouſand were tranſported every Year for an hundred Years to come, the Country could in no Degree be deemed *populous*: So that the former Objection againſt ſending them to our other Plantations, can with no Colour of Truth, or Reaſon, be retorted here.

But if this Objection cannot be made, I am very ſenſible, that the Advocates for the preſent Monopoly will ſtrive hard to muſter up others: And therefore the great Pretence will be, *The Expence!* The

Expence!—To which a very ſufficient Anſwer might be returned, by aſking a plain Queſtion, *viz.* Who pays the Expence now? Who paid for building the Forts, if they may be called Forts? And who pays for the exorbitant Profits ariſing from the Shares, or Dividends, to the Proprietors, and the Jobbs to the Managers, and the Salaries to the reſpective Governors, Officers, and Men?—Who indeed, but the PUBLIC: The Public, I ſay, literally and truly pays all at preſent; with this cruel Circumſtance, that the Tax is a thouſand Times more heavy and oppreſſive, than if it had been judiciouſly laid on, and regularly collected by the Officers of the Revenue. And, Reader, as a Proof of what I am now ſaying, give me Leave juſt to lay before you a Specimen, or Sample of this Tax, taken from the Company's own Accounts,—*viz.* Their Standard of Trade at *Hudſon*'s Bay. Now as Gold and Silver are never uſed in that Country, they all proceed by Barter, *fixed by Order of the Company:* And therefore you have nothing more to do, than to examine how much this Barter is ſet *higher*, than it would have been in a *free* and *open* Trade, in order to find out the *Company's Tax*; For ☞ all the *Exceedings*, are in Fact, a Tax laid, and levied on the Manufactures of their Fellow-Subjects exported, and on Raw Materials imported, by their own ſupreme Authority. Now as Beaver is the principal Article in the Trade, this is made the Standard whereby to value every Thing elſe; and moreover, as the Company ſell this Beaver, at a Medium, after the Rate of Nine Shillings each; therefore by turning the Quantity of Beaver into the Valuation of *Engliſh* Money, we ſhall ſee with a ſingle Caſt of the Eye, the whole Myſtery of this dark Affair.

Prices of the Linen and Woollen Manufactures, as fixed by the Company at *Hudſon*'s Bay.

	£.	s.	d.
Duffles, 1 Yard - - as 2 Beavers	0	18	0
Flannel, 1 Yard - - as 1½ Beavers	0	13	6
Gartering, 1½ Yard - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Thread, 1 Pound - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Shirts, 1 - - - - - as 2 Beavers	0	18	0
Stockings, 1 Pair - - as 2 Beavers	0	18	0
Twine, 1 Scain - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Lace, broad orris 1½ Yd as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Worſted Binding, 1½ Yd as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Gloves, Yarn 1 Pair - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Blankets, 1 Yard - as 7 Beavers	3	3	0

Prices of the Iron and Metal, and other Manufactures, as fixed by the Company at *Hudſon*'s Bay.

	£.	s.	d.
Braſs Coat Buttons, 4 Doz. as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Ditto Waiſtcoat, 6 Doz. as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Awl Blades, 8 - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Bayonets, 1 - - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Fiſh-Hooks, 14 - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Guns, 1 - - - as 14 Beavers	6	6	0
Piſtols, 1 - - - as 7 Beavers	3	3	0
Needles, 12 - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Engliſh Brandy, 1 Gall. as 4 Beavers	1	16	0
Feathers, Red, 2 - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Tobacco Boxes, 1 - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Flints, 16 - - - - as 1 Beaver	0	9	0
Vermillion, 1 Pound as 16 Beavers	7	14	0

AND now, my good Reader, what think you of ſuch a Tax as this! Coarſe Blanketing at Three Guineas *per* Yard! Woollen Gloves at Nine Shillings *per* Pair! Common Guns at Six Guineas each! Sixteen Flints for Nine Shillings! *Engliſh* Spirits at One Pound Sixteen Shillings *per* Gallon! And a Pound of Vermillion ſold at Seven Pounds Fourteen Shillings! Aſtoniſhing, and Prodigious! — But yet this melancholy Affair (for ſurely ſuch it is) may afford us one uſeful Leſſon of Inſtruction: And that is, that the Variety and Inequality of the Prices of theſe Things, is a Proof that the Company fixed their Valuations according to the Demand, which either the *Neceſſity*, *Luxury*, or *Vanity* of the *Indians*, made upon them. For Example, A Yard of warm Blanketing, or a Pair of Woollen Gloves, a Gun, Piſtol, or Flint to ſtrike Fire, were in ſome reſpects, Articles of Neceſſity; and therefore the reſpective Prices are ſet high: — A Gallon of Spirituous Liquors is a Matter of Luxury, and therefore the Price of that was high alſo: But it ſeems, that the Vanity of Dreſs is the ruling Paſſion of theſe poor People, for their Eagerneſs after a red Feather, and red Paint, ſcarce knew any Bounds; and therefore the *honeſt* Company took the Advantage of their Foible, and made them pay accordingly. And I am much afraid, that what is thus diſcovered to be the Caſe in relation to the Savages of *Hudſon*'s Bay, will be found to be very ſimilar to the Practice of the good Chriſtians, and polite Inhabitants of *Great Britain*. However, by this ſingle Circumſtance, the Company have intirely confuted their own Arguments concerning the Lazineſs, the Indifference, and Inactivity of this People; nay, they themſelves have ſhewn that they do not want a Spirit of Ambition, or Emulation. And therefore, if we could touch their Self-Love in a proper Manner, we ſhould ſoon make them as induſtrious as other People; that is, they would become as willing to labour as ourſelves (for the *Britains* were once ſuch Savages) and to exchange the Produce of that Labour for the Produce, or Manufactures of other Countries: — And ſurely this is Commerce; or there is no ſuch Thing in the World. — As to the Article of Expence, I humbly hope, that from what hath been ſet forth, no farther Difficulty can be alledged on that Head. However, if any Doubt ſhould ſtill remain, let it be conſidered, that if the Public ſhall get an additional Revenue of at leaſt forty thouſand Pounds a Year, by the Riſe of the Cuſtoms on the greater Quantities of Goods imported, and by the Riſe of the Exciſe, and all Inland Duties on Account of the greater Number of Manufacturers, and all Sorts of Perſons being imployed (not to mention the Nurſery for ſo many thouſands of Seamen)

I ſay, if this is the Caſe, as it infallibly will be, ſurely we may afford to pay eight or ten thouſand Pounds a Year out of this Sum, without any Loſs, or Burden. — Indeed, that Perſon muſt be a very ſorry Calculator, who cannot diſcover, that the Increaſe of Manufactures, Trade, and Shipping, will neceſſarily be attended with a proportionable Increaſe in every Branch of the Revenue.—There is but one Thing more I have to add on this Subject, and I have done: And that is, that the Company, not content with the gainful Practice of *conſcientious* Traders, who do as they would be done by, act likewiſe in the Capacity of *Quacks* and *Conjurers* *, ſelling the People *Noſtrums* to cure all Diſeaſes, and *Charms* to make them ſucceſsful in their Wars, or Hunting. And in honeſt Truth, if after what has been ſaid, this Company ſhall ſtill be ſuffered to trample upon our *natural* Rights and Liberties; and if the Subjects of this Kingdom will not make it a common Cauſe, to free themſelves from this galling Chain, we muſt conclude, that the wiſe Inhabitants of *Great Britain* are as much the Dupes of the *Doctor*, and the *Cunning Man*, as the poor, illiterate Savages of *Hudſon's* Bay.

III. We have yet to direct our Attack againſt another great Monopoly, and indeed the moſt unweildy Monſter of them all: — The Reader need not be told, that this is the East India Company. But as for the Attack itſelf, the Work is already done to our Hands by an Act of the whole Legiſlature, paſt the third Year of his preſent Majeſty; and we have nothing more now to do, than to purſue and execute the judicious Plan there laid down. The Purport of which Act of Parliament, as far as relates to the preſent Subject, is as follows; That after three Years Notice given by Parliament to the Company, and upon paying off the Principal and Intereſt of 3,200,000*l.* Sterling, which the Public have borrowed of the Company, "Then, and from thenceforth, "the Right, Title, and Intereſt of the ſaid Company to the whole, "ſole, and excluſive Trade to the *Eaſt Indies*, &c. ſhall ceaſe and de- "termine. But after the Determination of that Company's Right to "the ſole, and excluſive Trade to and from the *Eaſt Indies*, the Cor- "poration [for the Company is ſtill to remain a corporate Body, if they "pleaſe] with all, or any of their Joint-Stock, Goods, Eſtates, &c. "may

* See a Pamphlet, intitled, *A ſhort State of the Countries and Trade of North America claimed by the* Hudſon's *Bay Company*, Printed for *J. Robinſon*, Page 16. The whole Pamphlet highly deſerves the Regard and Attention of the Friends of Liberty and Mankind.

" may trade in common with other Subjects of His Majesty trading to, " and from those Parts." See *The great Collection of Voyages*, Vol. I. Page 915.

Now, if we really intend to put in Execution this excellent Law, what have we more to do, than to give the Public Notice, and pay off the Debt? The Debt may be discharged when Peace is established, in much less Time than three Years, by means of the Sinking Fund. And surely this Debt, of all others, ought to be discharged the first: Nay, were even the destroying of the Monopoly, and the Advancement of national Commerce out of the Question, the very Behaviour of the Company in a late trying Affair, when the Reduction of Interest was upon the Carpet, is sufficient to determine this Point. For if ever there was an Instance of the blackest Ingratitude, and the most dangerous Combination against a just, and unblemished Government, this was one: Vices the more unpardonable in the present Case, as the Government had just been protecting their Forts and Settlements in *India* at a most immense Expence; and as the Company themselves had set the Example by reducing the Interest of their own Bonds to three *per Cent.* and yet they refused three and a half, and had the Conscience to demand four of the Government. No Thanks therefore to the *East India* Company, that this laudable Scheme for the Reduction of Interest hath so happily succeeded; for they opposed it with all their Might, and endeavoured to raise a senseless, popular Cry against it. But the Thanks are due, and ought to be paid to the Memory of that *honest Minister* lately deceased, and to his Fellow-Helpers still living; who so bravely and firmly broke the Neck of these Combinations, and gave a noble Specimen of the great Good that may be done by Men of *good Hearts* in a *good Cause*.

IV. Lastly, As to the *South Sea* Company, this Monopoly is such an undefinable, unshapen, nameless Thing, that little can be said about it. For it hath not the least Sign of a Trading Company belonging to it, and yet hath a Grant to prevent all others from trading. It fits out no Ships, deals in no sort of Merchandize, neither buys nor sells any thing but Stocks, neither exports nor imports: — But nevertheless, if you were to send a Ship any where within the Reach of its extensive Patent, you would presently find, that it so far possesses the true Spirit of an exclusive Company, as to act like the Dog in the Manger, and hinder others from reaping any Benefit from that Trade, which it doth not injoy itself. However, as no present Design is formed for carrying on

any

any Commerce with the * *Spicy* Countries within its Grant, *viz. New Guinea, New Holland*, &c. and as it will be neceſſary whenever this is attempted, that the State ſhould either ſettle a Colony, or nurſe up the Trade at firſt by means of Bounties to rival Adventurers (which are the only *national* Ways of opening new Sources of Commerce) we may defer this Subject at preſent, and reſume it again when we come to the third Section, to treat more expreſſly of the Nature of Commercial Colonies, the Reaſons of their Inſtitution, the Rules for ſettling them, and the Regulations they ſhould be under in relation to the Mother Country.

And now, to put an End to this tedious, and toilſome Affair, let us conclude all with this general Remark, *viz.* That every Rank and Condition of Men throughout the Kingdom, the Monopoliſts excepted, would find their Advantage by concurring and uniting together to break looſe from theſe Chains of *Egyptian* Bondage.

The Government and Adminiſtration, which, God be praiſed, no longer proceeds upon the old Maxims of Tyranny and Prerogative, but conſiders itſelf as the *equal* Protector *of*, and *equally* related *to* all its Subjects, would ſoon find the Effects of its Paternal Care in the growing Induſtry of the People. The Wheels of Government would go ſmoothly on; becauſe the great Subject of repining would be taken away: And it would be neither the Intereſt, nor Inclination of the great Body of the People to complain of an open Trade, or to wiſh for any Change in their Commercial Syſtem. Therefore, as by this ſingle Polity, Wealth would flow in from every Quarter, the People would be imployed in more uſeful Matters than to criticize on the Conduct or Management of their Superiors. Moreover, the Amount of Taxes would be every Day increaſing, becauſe the Numbers of the People would increaſe, and their Abilities to conſume taxable Commodities would increaſe likewiſe: Conſequently the Produce of the Sinking Fund would riſe; the National Debt would leſſen, and Money, when wanted, might be borrowed at almoſt any Intereſt. Moreover, as to external Affairs, the more powerful we are, the more we ſhould be reſpected: And the leſs we aimed at Conqueſts, the more deſirous would every People be to traffic with us.—Indeed all Nations would covet our Manufactures, becauſe we could ſell them the beſt, and on the cheapeſt Lay; and they would ſend us either the valuable Returns of raw Materials, or ſuch other Commodities as would ſwell the Amount of our yearly

* See *The great Collection of Voyages*, Vol. I. Chap. I. Sect. IX. and X. Pages 62, 63, 64, and 65. See alſo Sect. XXII. Pages 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, and 335.

yearly Revenue by the Cuſtoms, Duties, and Taxes put upon them. In ſhort, every Port would then have its Share of Commerce, and be induſtrious to rival, and exceed its Neighbour; and therefore every Port would augment the Riches, Strength, and Glory of the Kingdom, by its additional Contribution towards the Revenue, and its additional number of Ships, and Sailors. Thus therefore would the Intereſt of the Government be promoted by every Method which advances the Intereſt of the Individuals.

And as to the *Patriot*, he ſurely would have Reaſon to rejoice at this Reſtoration of our *natural* Rights and Liberties. For when our Trade is once ſet free, we ſhall be intirely and completely free; having no other Thraldom to complain of: For all the Remains of our former Vaſſalage and Slavery in other Inſtances are already aboliſhed. Indeed this Affair of Monopolies and Excluſions, is the *laſt Prerogative Tax* now remaining; and when that is demoliſhed, the Patriot will find, by happy Experience, that theſe Prerogative Taxes, though the leaſt attended to, were the heavieſt and moſt oppreſſive of any.

Moreover, in regard to the *Country Gentleman*, as it is his immediate Intereſt to raiſe the Value of his Lands, to get good Tenants for his Farm, a ready Market for the Conſumption, and to be eaſed from the Burden of a numerous Poor, he muſt regard theſe Monopolies, as ſo many Combinations particularly levelled againſt the *Landed Intereſt*: And therefore he ſhould be the more active and indefatigable in aboliſhing them.

As to the whole Body of Merchants, Manufacturers, and other Claſſes of People, what can be more obvious, than that theſe Monopolies were intended to impoveriſh all beſides, and to eat like a Canker into their Gains and Induſtry? For they were eſtabliſhed with the very Intent of being detrimental to the *many*, in order to be exorbitantly profitable to the *few*. The Queſtion therefore is no more than this, Whether the *few* or the *many* ſhall get the better in this Struggle; a Struggle in which the one Side are contending for their natural Rights and Liberties, and the other for the Continuance of an unjuſt and odious Uſurpation. And as to the well-timing of an Application to Parliament, any Seſſions may ſerve for that Purpoſe; Perhaps the ſixth or ſeventh as well as any other; — indeed rather better. For the Caſe of foreign Monopolies is not the ſame with that of domeſtic ones; — I mean as to the *Popularity* of them. And the Reaſon is, becauſe the Numbers ingaged in them, comparatively ſpeaking, can be but few: And therefore it becomes a popular Topic to declaim againſt them. — For, in Fact, every Man is deſirous, that all Monopolies ſhould be aboliſhed but his own: — Than which, I think, there cannot be a ſtronger

An APPENDIX *to the First and Second Sections of the* Chapter *on* Manufactures.

HAVING laid down a Position, or Maxim, at the Beginning of the First Section, That all Trades and Branches of Commerce ought to be FREE, those only excepted, which administer Temptations to Vice, or are preventive of National Industry;—and having asserted both in the First and Second Sections, That the inslaving of Commerce by exclusive Patents, and monopolizing Corporations, is a Remnant of that antient despotic Power, and Gothic Barbarity, under which this Kingdom long groaned; I think it very proper, in a Matter of such vast Importance, to make good my Assertions by the most undoubted Authorities; by which Means the Reader will be able to form the truer Judgment on the Merits of this Cause. And if he shall be able to discover the real Motives of those Princes, who granted these Patents from time to time; — and the precise Views of the Grantees in so earnestly petitioning for, and eagerly defending them, he will be at no Loss in determining, whether these Things were ever established with a good Intent, and particularly whether they ought to have continued so long as to the present Times. And tho' many Authorities might be brought, yet I shall content myself with two only, as being altogether unexceptionable, full, and decisive.

THE first Instance which I shall here produce, is that which occurred during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; when the Dawnings of Commerce began to break forth, and People's Eyes were opened a little, to see the Advantages that would have resulted from a free, and uninterrupted Trade *at home*.

THE second wholly concerns such Charters and Exclusions as relate to *Foreign* Trade. — And by comparing both together the Reader will find, that though our Forefathers were forced to kiss the Rod, they thought it neither an Honour, nor Advantage, so to do; and would have been glad to have injoyed a greater Degree of Liberty, but did not dare to appear openly in its Defence.

I. IN the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, there were several Struggles to shake off some of the most galling Links of that slavish Chain, in which the

the People were held in regard to Commerce: Particularly the Struggles in the forty third Year of her Reign deſerves an eſpecial Regard: Becauſe the Debates in Parliament then ran the higheſt about Monopolies and Excluſions; as may be ſeen in *Townſhend*'s *Hiſtorical Collections*, himſelf a Member *of*, and a Speaker *in* that very Parliament: *Note*, The ſame Collections are likewiſe tranſcribed, with ſome Abridgments, into Sir *Simon D'ewes*'s *Journal of the Houſe of Commons*, ſee Page 644—660. But tho' the Members widely differed, whether they ſhould proceed againſt theſe Monopolies by Way of Bill, or Petition to the Queen; yet they all agreed, that in regard to Commercial Matters, an Act of Parliament itſelf was no Fence againſt the Prerogative. Such was the miſerable and ſlaviſh Condition of *Old England!* Such the *golden Days of good Queen Beſs*, ſo much envied and preferred to modern Times! Mr *Francis* [afterward Sir *Francis*] *Bacon* ſaid, (Page 231) "The Queen, "as ſhe is our Sovereign, hath both an inlarging and reſtraining Liberty "of her Prerogative: That is, ſhe hath Power, by her Patents, to ſet at "Liberty Things reſtrained by Statute Law, or otherwiſe; [*i. e.* Com-"mon Law] and by her Prerogative ſhe may reſtrain Things that are "at Liberty.—If Her Majeſty makes a Patent, or Monopoly to any "of her *Servants*, That we muſt go, and cry out againſt: ☞ But if "ſhe grants it to a Number of Burgeſſes, or Corporation, that muſt "ſtand; and, forſooth, is no Monopoly."

Mr *Francis Moor* [Member for *Reading*] ſaid, Page 233, "Mr "Speaker, I know the Queen's Prerogative is a Thing curious to be "dealt withal; yet all Grievances are not comparable. I cannot utter "with my Tongue, or conceive with my Heart, the great Grievances "that the Town and Country for which I ſerve, ſuffer by ſome of theſe "Monopolies: It bringeth the general Profit into a private Hand; and "the End of all is Beggary and Bondage to the Subject.—But to "what Purpoſe is it, to do any thing by Act of Parliament, when the "Queen will undo the ſame by her Prerogative? Out of the Spirit of "*Humility*, Mr Speaker, I do ſpeak it: There is no Act of hers that "hath been, or is more derogatory to her own Majeſty, or more odi-"ous to the Subject, or more dangerous to the Commonwealth, than "the Granting of theſe Monopolies."

Mr *Martin* [Member for *Barnſtaple*] ſaid, Page 234, "I ſpeak for "a Town that grieves and pines, and for a Country that groaneth un-"der the Burden of monſtrous and unconſcionable *Subſtitutes* to the "Monopolitans of Starch, Tynn, Fiſh, Cloth, Oil, Vinegar, Salt, and "I know not what; nay, what not. The principal Commodities of

" my Town and Country are ingroſſed into the Hands of theſe Blood-
" Suckers of the Commonwealth. — The [foreign] Traffic is taken
" away by Wars; the inward and private Commodities dare not be
" uſed without Licence of theſe Monopolitans. If theſe Blood-Suckers
" be ſtill let alone, to ſuck up the beſt and principaleſt Commodities,
" which the Earth hath given us, what ſhall become of us? — The
" Fruits of our own Soil, and the Commodities of our own Labour,
" which with the Sweat of our Brows (even up to the Knees in Mire
" and Dirt) we have laboured for, ſhall be taken from us by Warrant
" of ſupreme Authority, which the poor Subject dares not gainſay!"

SIR *George Moor* [Member for *Surry*] ſpoke next, and ſaid, " We
" know the Power of her Majeſty cannot be reſtrained by any Act.
" Why therefore ſhould we thus talk? Admit that we ſhould make
" the Statute with a *Non-obſtante*; yet the Queen may grant a Patent
" with a *Non-obſtante*, to croſs this *Non-obſtante*. I think therefore,
" that it agreeth more with the Wiſdom and Gravity of this Houſe, to
" proceed with all *Humbleneſs*, rather by Petition, than Bill."

MR *Wingfield* [Member for *Stanford*] replied to this, as follows, " I
" would but put the Houſe in mind of the Proceedings we had in this
" Matter the laſt Parliament: [which Parliament was held four Years
before: For *note*, The Cuſtom of holding *annual* Parliaments did not
take Place till the happy Revolution] " In the End whereof our Speaker
" moved her Majeſty by way of *Petition*, that the Griefs touching theſe
" Monopolies might be reſpected, and the Grievance redreſſed. Her
" Majeſty anſwered by the Lord Keeper: That ſhe would take Care
" of theſe Monopolies; and our Griefs ſhould be redreſſed: If not, ſhe
" would give us free Liberty to proceed in making a Law the next Par-
" liament. The Wound, Mr Speaker, is ſtill bleeding; and we grieve
" under the Sore, and are without Remedy."

MR *Fleming*, the Sollicitor General [Member for *Southampton*] ſaid,
Page 238, " That her Majeſty in her provident Care had given Charge
" to Mr Attorney General and his ſelf, that ſpeedy and ſpecial Courſe
" may be taken with theſe Patents. This was the Beginning of Hil-
" lary Term laſt. — Since that nothing could be done therein for want
" of Leiſure."

SIR *Robert Wroth* [Member for *Middleſex*] replied, " I would but
" note, Mr Sollicitor, that you were charged to take Care in Hillary
" Term laſt. Why not before? There was Time enough ever ſince
" the laſt Parliament [four Years ago] I ſpeak it, and I ſpeak it boldly,
" theſe Patentees are worſe than ever they were. And I have heard a

" Gentleman

" Gentleman affirm in this Houſe, *That there is a Clauſe of Reverſion* " *in the Patents.* If ſo, what needed this ſtir by *Quo Warranto*, and " I know not what? when it is but to ſend for the Patents, and cauſe " a Re-delivery. There have been divers Patents granted *ſince the laſt* " *Parliament*; theſe are now in being, *viz.* The Patents for Currants, " Iron, Powder, Cards, Horns, Ox Shin-bones, Train Oil, Liſts of " Cloth, Aſhes, Bottles, Glaſſes, Bags, Shreds of Gloves, Aniſeed, Vine- " gar, Sea-Coals, Steel, Aqua-Vitæ, Bruſhes, Pots, Salt, Salt-Petre, " Lead, Accedence, Tranſportation of Leather, Calamint Stone, Train " Oil of Blubber, Fumathoes, or dried Piltchers, and many others."

UPON reading of the Patents aforeſaid, Mr *Hackwell* of *Lincolns-Inn* [Member for *Boſſenny*] ſtood up, and aſked this, " Is not Bread " there? Bread! quoth one; Bread! quoth another: This Voice ſeems " ſtrange, quoth a third: No, quoth Mr *Hackwell*, but if Order be not " taken for theſe, Bread will be there before the next Parliament."

BUT notwithſtanding theſe Grievances were ſo numerous, and almoſt too great a Burden even for a *Turkiſh* Vaſſal to ſubmit to, Mr *Spicer* [Member for *Warwick*] ſaid upon the ſecond Reading, Page 241, " I think " it were good this Bill were committed. I am no Apoſtate, but ſtick " to my former Faith; and upon that aſſerted, that by way of *Petition* " will be our ſafeſt Courſe. For it is to no Purpoſe, to offer to tie her " Majeſty's Hands by way of Act of Parliament, *when ſhe may looſe* " *herſelf at Pleaſure.*"

MR *Davies* [Member for *Corf-Caſtle*, *Dorſetſhire*] ſpoke next, and ſaid, " God hath given Power to ABSOLUTE Princes, which he attri- " buteth to himſelf; *Dixi quod Dii eſtis:* And, as Attributes unto " them, he hath given them *Majeſty*, *Juſtice*, and *Mercy*. *Majeſty*, " in reſpect of the Honour that the Subject ſheweth unto his Prince; " *Juſtice*, in reſpect he can do no wrong; and *Mercy*, in reſpect he " giveth Leave to his Subjects, to right themſelves by Law: And " therefore, in the forty fourth Aſſize an Indictment was brought " againſt Bakers, and Brewers: For that by Colour of Licence they " had broken the Aſſize: Wherefore, according to that Precedent, I " think it moſt fit to proceed by Bill, and not by Petition."

THE Reply made to this Speech was ſo very extraordinary, that I am perſuaded, the Reader will not paſs it over without taking ſome Notice of it: And the Compariſon, that will reſult from thence, between *Old England*, and *Modern England*, may have its Uſes in many Reſpects. The Reply was made by no leſs a Perſon than Sir *Robert Cecil*, Principal Secretary of State, and in theſe Words,—" I am a

" Servant to the Queen: And before I would ſpeak, or give my Con-
" ſent to a Caſe that ſhould debaſe her Prerogative, or abridge it, I
" would wiſh my Tongue cut out of my Head. — One Gentleman
" went about to poſſeſs us with the Execution of the Law, in an an-
" tient Record of the fiftieth of *Edwardi* III. Likely enough to be
" true at that time, when the King was afraid of the Subject.—If you
" ſtand upon Law, and diſpute of the Prerogative, hark what *Bracton*
" ſaith, *Prærogativam noſtram nemo audeat diſputare.* For my own
" Part, I like not theſe Courſes ſhould be taken. ☞ And you, Mr
" Speaker, ſhould perform the Charge her Majeſty gave unto you at
" the Beginning of this Parliament, not to receive Bills of this Na-
" ture."—

THIS Speech ſeems to have thunder-ſtruck the Houſe: — However, after having a little recovered from the Fright, Mr *Mountague* [Member either for *Brackley* in *Northamptonſhire*, or *Malmsbury* in *Wiltſhire*, for there were two Members of the Name] had the Courage to ſay, " Mr Speaker, I am loth to ſpeak what I know, leſt perhaps I
" ſhould diſpleaſe. The Prerogative Royal is that which is now in
" Queſtion, and which the Laws of the Land have ever allowed and
" maintained. My Motion then ſhall be but this, That we may be
" Suitors unto her Majeſty, that the Patentees ſhall have no other Re-
" medy, than by the Laws of the Realm they may have; and that
" our Act be drawn accordingly." This Motion was ſeconded by Mr *Martin*, and greatly approved of by the Houſe; ſo that the Affair was ſettled according to this Plan.

MR *Townſhend*, at Page 243, then proceeds to give a Liſt or Catalogue of the ſeveral Monopolies then in being; which, as they are much the ſame with what have been mentioned before, excepting ſome additional ones, I ſhall not now repeat. Only, I think, it may be proper to take Notice, that moſt of them were granted to *Members of Parliament*, or their *near Relations*, with Clauſes of Revocation at Pleaſure: And that the Patents themſelves were of five Kinds, 1*ſt*, Such as were granted in order to countenance, and ſupport an open Violation of the known Laws of the Land; of which number we are to reckon that granted to Mr *Cornwallis* to hold *unlawful* Games; likewiſe the Patent to Sir *Edward Dier*, to pardon, diſpenſe, and releaſe all Forfeitures, and Abuſes committed by Tanners contrary to the Statute; and ſeveral others of the ſame Stamp. For when the Parliament enacted a *penal* Law, it was frequently the Practice of the Crown to grant a Patent of Diſpenſation, like the Popes of *Rome*, in order to raiſe

raiſe Money upon the Subject by ſelling *Pardons*, and *Indulgences*. — *2dly*, Another ſort of Patents, and Excluſions, were thoſe which were calculated to check the internal Trade, and Induſtry of the Kingdom; ſuch were the Patents for Printing School-Books, *&c.* and making Salt, Steel, Bruſhes, Paper, Glaſs, Pottery Wares, Starch, *&c.* alſo the Patent for Salt-Petre, and the Licence for ſowing Woade. As to that relating to Salt-Petre, it was of a Nature ſo extraordinary, that ſomething farther ought to be ſaid about it. For it not only gave an excluſive Grant to the Patentees to make Gunpowder, but alſo impowered them to enter forceably into any Man's Houſe, and dig up his Floors, and Cellars, and do what Miſchief they pleaſed, in ſearch of Salt-Petre. Therefore theſe unwelcome Gueſts were ſure to pay every Man a Viſit, who did not buy his Peace and Safety by means of pecuniary Contributions. And it was upon this Account, that Sir *George Moore*, part of whoſe Speech hath been quoted before, Page 138, made a Sort of Pun upon the Word; *viz.* " Many Grievances have been laid open " touching the Monopoly of *Salt*; but if you had added thereunto " *Peter*, then you had hit the Grief aright with which my Country " is perplexed." And Secretary *Cecil* ſays himſelf, Page 251, That the Patent for Salt-Petre " digs in every Man's Houſe, removes the " Inhabitant, and generally troubleth the Subject." And *note*, This is the very Monopoly that was afterwards revived with ſo much Rigour and Cruelty in the Reign of *Charles* I. and cauſed ſuch univerſal Murmurings. As to the Sowing of *Woade*, the Pretence for reſtraining the natural Liberty of the Subject in this particular, was really curious, *viz.* " That the Queen in her Progreſſes was offended with the Smell " of it." See Secretary *Cecil*'s Speech, Page 250. I ſuppoſe, when ſhe granted two Licences, one to *William Aber*, and another to *Valentine Harris*, to Sow ſix hundred Acres each, that Woade had a better Smell. *3dly*, Another Set of Monopolies, were thoſe which clogged and diſcouraged the Exportation of our own Manufactures: As, for Example, the excluſive Patent for exporting Iron Ordnance, Iron, and Tin; alſo the Patent for brewing Beer for Tranſportation, another to tranſport Liſts, and Shreds, and another for exporting ſix thouſand Calf Skins. *4thly*, There were Monopolies alſo to confine the Importation of Raw Materials, leſt the Subject ſhould have too much Imployment; *viz.* A Monopoly for importing *Spaniſh* Wool, another for importing Steel, a third for Oil of Blubber, and a fourth for *Iriſh* Yarn, *&c. &c.* *5thly*, Beſides theſe Excluſions granted to ſingle Perſons, there were ſeveral others granted to Numbers, whereby they were incor-

incorporated: — And indeed you will find, upon Inquiry, that a great many of the Companies of Trades now ſubſiſting, were of her creating; — But waving all domeſtic Matters, let us now confine ourſelves to Foreign Trade; For in the firſt Place, we find in this very Catalogue of Monopolies, *A Patent for certain Merchants to traffic.* As to the Country to, and from which this Trade was to be carried on, this is not ſpecified; but it ſeems to be either ſome Renewal of the Grant made to the *Muſcovia* Company: — Or the Confirmation of the excluſive Charter of Merchant Adventurers, — or ſome new Monopoly for carrying on a Trade to *Barbary*. For all theſe Excluſions were granted much about the ſame Time, *viz.* in the Years 1584, 1585, or 1586. Now if it was a Renewal, or ſome Extenſion of Privileges of the *Muſcovia* Company, her Conduct was ſtill the more extraordinary, in regard to this Affair, becauſe the Emperor *Theodore Joannides* had particularly expoſtulated with her on that Head *, " deſiring her to grant " Liberty to all the *Engliſh* to trade into *Ruſſia*. For to permit ſome, " ſays he, and to deny others, is Injuſtice: And Princes muſt carry an " indifferent Hand betwixt their Subjects, and not convert Trade " *(which by the Law of Nations ought to be common to all)* into a Mo- " nopoly, to the private Gain of a few." Theſe were the Sentiments of a Prince, whom the *Engliſh* then ſuppoſed a Barbarian, and almoſt a Savage.—But if the Grant here in Queſtion was a Confirmation of the Charters of Merchants Adventurers, the Diſcuſſion of that Affair will come before the Reader in the ſecond Part of this APPENDIX; where he will find, that the ſame hackney Apologies, and thread-bare Cant were uſed in ſupport of Monopolies one hundred and fifty Years ago, as are uſed at preſent.—Moreover, if this Patent *to Merchants to traffic* was the *Barbary* Patent above mentioned, it may not be amiſs to recite the curious Reaſons for granting it, as given by the Reverend Mr *Smith* in his *Memoirs of Wool*, Vol. I. Page 115, from Mr *Camden*, viz. " *Anno* " *Dom.* 1585. For the more advantageous and GAINFUL VENDING " of *Engliſh* Cloths, Licence was granted to *Ambroſe* Earl of *Warwick*, " and his Brother the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Thomas Starky*, *Gerard Gore*, " and divers others, Merchants of *London*, for the Term of two Years, " to trade with the Moors in the Eaſtern Parts of *Barbary*, to make " good the Loſſes they had ſuſtained in *Africa:* And all other Mer- " chants were prohibited to Trade upon thoſe Coaſts."—In order that theſe Monopoliſts might have the MORE GAINFUL Vending of *Engliſh* Cloths; that is, in plain *Engliſh*, That they might inrich themſelves at the Expence of their Country: An infallible Method of making Trade to flouriſh!

BUT

* *Memoirs of Wool*, Vol. I. Chap XXIV. Page 114.

BUT alas! theſe Blood-ſuckers were not the only ones authoriſed by this Princeſs; for in the Year 1600, the very Year before this Parliament met, ſhe fortified by her Letters Patents, two other deſtructive and devouring Monopolies, *viz.* That trading to the *Eaſt Indies*, and the other to the *Levant* Seas, the Seignory of *Venice*, and the Republic of *Raguſa*; and for this latter ſhe ſtipulated to have an yearly Conſideration paid her of four thouſand Pounds. *Note*, This Grant to the *Turky* Company, was only the Renewal of a former one made about nine Years before. For her Cuſtom was, to inſert Clauſes of Revocation in the domeſtic Patents, and to grant the foreign ones but for a ſhort Space of Time; or at leaſt to find out Pretences for *reviſing* them, in order to keep the Monopolitans, and their Agents, in a *continual Dependence* upon herſelf. However, it ſeems, this politic and crafty Princeſs now began to think, that ſhe had ſtretched the String too far; and therefore concluded that the more prudent Step at ſuch a Juncture, when *the Subſidies were likewiſe depending*, was to make a decent Retreat, with a good Grace: Which ſurely ſhe did to Wonder, and Admiration! For, after having endeavoured to prevent the Affair from ever coming upon the Tapis, as appears by her Orders to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons: And after having oppoſed it with all her Might by her Privy-Counſellors, Place-men, and *Penſioned* Monopoliſts; ſhe ſtill found that the Storm was riſing, and the Clamours growing louder. For indeed the Yoke was now grown quite intolerable, ſo that even the moſt paſſive Minds were worked up into a Senſibility of theſe continued, repeated, and increaſing Evils. Nay, it is obſervable from all Hiſtory, that there is a Point, beyond which even the moſt deſpotic Power cannot proceed. Therefore ſhe artfully changed her Note, and appeared as ready to revoke theſe Monopolies, as her Subjects could be to remonſtrate againſt them. For at Page 248, we find, " That the " Speaker, after a Silence (and every one marvelling why the Speaker " ſtood up) ſpake to this Effect:

" IT pleaſed her Majeſty to command me to attend upon her Yeſter-
" day in the Afternoon: From whom I am to deliver unto you all,
" her Majeſty's moſt gracious Meſſage ſent by my unworthy ſelf. She
" yieldeth you all hearty Thanks for your Care, and ſpecial Regard of
" thoſe Things which concern her State, and Kingdom, and conſe-
" quently ourſelves; whoſe Good ſhe hath always tendred as her own:
" For our ſpeedy Reſolution in making ſo *haſty, and free a Subſidy*;
" which commonly ſucceeded, and never went before our Counſels. —
" For our Loyalty I will aſſure you, with ſuch, and ſo great Zeal of
" Affection ſhe uttered, and ſhewed the ſame, that to expreſs it with

" our

" our Tongues we are not able, neither our Hearts to conceive it. It " pleaſed her Majeſty to ſay unto me, That if ſhe had an hundred " Tongues, ſhe could not expreſs our hearty good Wills: And farther " ſhe ſaid, That as ſhe had ever held our Good moſt dear, ſo the laſt " Day of ours, or her Life ſhould witneſs it. And that if the leaſt of " her Subjects were grieved, and herſelf not touched, ſhe appealed to " the Throne of Almighty God, how careful ſhe had been, and will " be to defend her People from all Oppreſſion. ☞ She ſaid, That " partly by Intimation of her Council, and partly by divers Petitions " that had been delivered unto her both going to Chapel, and alſo " walking abroad, ſhe underſtood, That divers Patents, that ſhe had " granted were grievous unto her Subjects, and that the Subſtitutes of " of the Patentees had uſed great Oppreſſion. But, ſhe ſaid, ſhe never " aſſented to grant any Thing that was *Malum in ſe*. And if in the " Abuſe of her Grant there be any Thing that is Evil, which ſhe took " Knowledge there was, ſhe herſelf would take preſent Order for Re- " formation thereof. I cannot expreſs unto you the apparent Indigna- " tion of her Majeſty towards theſe Abuſes."

HERE the good Mr Speaker uſed a very proper Word in deſcribing this Affair, without intending it; *viz. apparent Indignation:* For ſurely her Indignation was only *apparent*; and her *real* Diſpleaſure was not againſt the Monopolitans, but againſt the Advocates for a free Trade; as they would have found to their Coſt, under ſome Pretence or other, had ſhe lived any Length of Time after this Affair. And as to her ſaying, That ſhe never made any Grants that were *mala in ſe*; It is hard to define, What Salvo could be intended by this Excuſe. For certain it is, That ſhe granted Patents for holding *unlawful* Games, and for diſpenſing *with*, or rather compounding *for*, the Breach of a great Number of Penal Statutes. And one would think, That if ſuch Patents were not abſolutely *evil in themſelves*, they approached ſo near to Evil, that the Diſtance was not very great or material. However, let the Grants be what they will in themſelves, we have the Authority of her own Secretary *Cecil* for aſſerting, that they were all evil in their Application. For, as it was now no Time to diſſemble, or deny, the Abuſe of theſe Things, he ſeems to make a Merit of inveighing againſt them, and frankly acknowledges, Page 249, " That there was no Patent, " which in the Execution thereof, hath not been injurious. Would they " had never been granted. I hope there ſhall never be more. (All " the Houſe ſaid *Amen.)* In particular, moſt of theſe Patents have " been ſupported with Letters of Aſſiſtance from her Majeſty's Privy " Council:

" Council: But whoſoever looks upon them, they ſhall find they carry " no other Stile than with relation to the Patent. I dare aſſure you, " that from henceforth there ſhall no more be granted; and how many " ſoever have been already granted, they ſhall all be revoked. But to " whom do they repair with theſe Letters?—To ſome Out-houſe, to " ſome deſolate Widow, to ſome ſimple Cottage, or poor ignorant " People, who rather than they would be troubled, and *undo them-* " *ſelves by coming up hither*, they will give any thing in reaſon for theſe " *Caterpillars* Satisfaction."

A FINE Apology truly! And a noble Juſtification of himſelf, his Fellow-Counſellors, and his Prince, for arming theſe devouring Caterpillars with *Writs of Aſſiſtance*, iſſued from the Privy Council; ſome of which had been executed in this manner for near thirty Years paſt. But,—as if he had made too great a Conceſſion in confeſſing theſe enormous Abuſes, he could not conclude his Speech without ſome kind of Reprimand. For, towards the Cloſe, he ſays, Page 251, " Why, Par- " liament Matters are ordinarily talked of in the Streets. I have heard " myſelf, being in my Coach, theſe Words ſpoken aloud: *God proſ-* " *per thoſe that further the Overthrow of theſe Monopolies! God ſend* " *the Prerogative touch not our Liberty!*"

HOWEVER, as theſe Declarations both of the Speaker, and the Secretary were very expreſs, *That the Patents ſhould be cancelled*; the Members, who before were trembling like Children under the Apprehenſion of the iron Rod of Prerogative, now burſt out into vehement Tranſports of wild and extravagant Joy. And as their Acclamations upon the Occaſion may give us the trueſt Picture, and the livelieſt Idea of thoſe Times, (which ſome would perſuade us to prefer to the preſent) I ſhall ſelect a few of them by way of Sample. Mr *Wingfield* ſaid, Page 252, " My Heart is not able to conceive the Joy that I feel: And, I " aſſure you, my Tongue cannot utter the ſame. If a Sentence of ever- " laſting Happineſs had been pronounced unto me, it could not have " made me ſhew more outward Joy, than I now do; which I cannot " refrain here to expreſs (and here I think he wept.) There could " nothing have been more acceptable to the Subject, than this Meſ- " ſage. And I verily think, that if ever any of her Majeſty's Words " were meritorious before God, I do think theſe are."—This, you will ſay, is ſoaring pretty high: But what is to follow is much above it: For when Mr *Downold* moved the Houſe, Page 257, " *That the* " *gracious Meſſage ſent from her Majeſty, might be written in the Books of* " *this Houſe*," [with a diſtant *Innuendo*, that if ſome ſuch Courſe was not

taken, perhaps they might be put off again with fair Speeches, as they were before, when they petitioned the Queen in a Body the laſt Parliament, four Years ago] Mr Secretary *Cecil* ſaid, " I do not ſpeak be-
" cauſe I do diſlike the Motion of that Gentleman that ſpoke laſt, but
" to defend the Diligence and Grace of the Queen.— And I do pro-
" teſt, there is not any Soul living, deſerves Thanks in this Cauſe but
" our Sovereign."—Whereupon Mr *Davies* ſaid, Mr Speaker, " That
" which was delivered unto you from her ſacred ſelf, I think to be
" *Goſpel*, that is, *glad Tidings*. And as the Goſpel is written and re-
" giſtered, ſo would I have that alſo: For *glad Tidings* come to the
" Hearts of the Subject.— This is all." And ſurely the Reader will ſay, *it is enough*. But if he likes to hear any more, Mr Speaker's Speech is ſtill in a more exalted and pious Strain, *viz.* " My Heart is not able
" to conceive, nor my Tongue to utter the Joy I conceive for her
" Majeſty's gracious, and eſpecial Care for our Good and Welfare.
" Wherefore, as God ſaid, *Gloriam meam alteri non daleo*; ſo may her
" Majeſty ſay in that, that herſelf will be the only and ſpeedy Agent,
" for the Performance of our moſt humble and wiſhed Deſires."

And upon an Intimation given by the Secretary, that the Queen was willing to receive their Thanks upon the Occaſion; and that, if the Speaker ſhould come at the Head of forty, fifty, or an hundred Members, they ſhould be all welcome; the general Cry of the Houſe, inſtead of naming the particular Committee for that Purpoſe, was *All*, *All*, *All*; ſo no Committee was named. Therefore [ſee Page 262]
" The Commons attended the Queen at *Whitehall*, about three of the
" Clock, to the Number of one hundred and forty. — At length the
" Queen came into the Council-Chamber; where ſitting under the
" Cloth of State, at the upper End, the Speaker, with all the Com-
" mons came in; and after three low Reverences he ſpake to this Ef-
" fect:

" Most ſacred, and more than moſt gracious Sovereign,

" We your faithful, loyal, and moſt obedient Subjects, and Com-
" mons here preſent, vouchſafed of your ſpecial Goodneſs (to our un-
" ſpeakable Comforts) Acceſs to your Royal Preſence; do, in all Duty
" and Humbleneſs, come to preſent that which no Words can ex-
" preſs, our moſt humble, and thankful Acknowledgment of your
" moſt gracious Meſſage, and moſt bounden, and humble Thanks for
" your Majeſty's moſt abundant Goodneſs, extended and performed
" to us.

" We

" WE cannot ſay (moſt gracious Sovereign) *we have called, and been*
" *heard; we have complained, and have been helped:* Though in all
" Duty and Thankfulneſs we acknowledge, *your ſacred Ears are ever*
" *open, and ever bowed down to hear us, and your bleſſed Hands ever*
" *ſtretched out to relieve us.* We acknowledge (ſacred Sovereign) we
" acknowledge, that before we call, ☞ Your preventing Grace, and
" all-deſerving Goodneſs do watch over us for our Good; more ready
" to give, than we can deſire, much leſs deſerve.

" THE Attribute which is moſt proper unto God, *To perform all*
" *he promiſeth* (moſt gracious Sovereign, Queen of all Truth, of all
" Conſtancy, of all Goodneſs, never wearied of doing Good unto us,
" which the Deeds themſelves do ſpeak) *that* we muſt render unto
" you, as being moſt zealous, moſt careful to provide all good Things
" for us, moſt gracious, moſt tender to remove all Grievances from
" us, which all your Princely Actions have ever ſhewed. And even
" now, your moſt gracious publiſhed *Proclamation*, of your *own only*
" *mere Motion*, and ſpecial Grace, for the Good of all your People,
" doth witneſs unto us.

" WE come not (ſacred Sovereign) one of ten, to render Thanks,
" and the reſt to go away unthankful: But all, of all, in all Duty and
" Thankfulneſs, do throw down ourſelves at the Feet of your Majeſty.
" Neither do We preſent our Thanks in Words, or any outward
" Thing, which can be nothing, which can be no ſufficient Retribu-
" tion for ſo great Goodneſs. But in all Duty and Thankfulneſs, *pro-*
" *ſtrate at your Feet*, we preſent our moſt loyal, and thankful Hearts,
" even the laſt Drop of Blood in our Hearts, and the laſt Spirit of
" Breath in our Noſtrils, to be poured out, to be breathed up for your
" Safety.

☞ " After three low Reverences made, he with the reſt kneeled
" down."

BEHOLD here a glorious Sight for the Admirers of *Old England*, and the golden Days of good Queen *Beſs!* — See the whole Commons of the Realm in Parliament aſſembled, proſtrate on the Ground, as to an *Eaſtern Tyrant*, uſing not only the moſt fulſome Compliments, and the moſt notoriouſly falſe, and abject Flattery, but even idolizing and adoring a Fellow-Mortal; and addreſſing their Prince in the ſame Language, which both Scripture, and our eſtabliſhed Church have appropriated to the ſupreme Being! — And all this for what? Why truly, That this moſt ſacred, *and more than moſt gracious Sovereign*, would condeſcend to pay ſome regard to her *Coronation-Oath*, and govern her

People *according to Law*:—I ſay, *according to Law*: For every Grant of a Monopoly is a Violation of the Common Law of the Realm: and yet theſe are the Times that are eternally cried up; theſe are propoſed as Patterns for us to copy after; nay, every falſe, and unjuſtifiable Artifice is made uſe of to render the People uneaſy in their preſent IMPROVING Situation, and to wiſh for the Reſtoration of their former Miſeries, and Oppreſſions.—In ſhort, Sir *Robert Cecil*, and Sir *Robert Walpole*, are now both dead, and are gone to anſwer for what they have done amiſs: Nor is there any Doubt to be made but that both had their *Faults*, as well as *Failings*: Yet, let the honeſt, and impartial World be the Judge between them, whether the one deſerved ſo high a Degree of Applauſe, or the other ſo much Reproach, and Cenſure from the *Engliſh* Nation. Particularly, let their Conduct be examined in regard to the Liberty of the Subject, and a free Commerce. The former aſſiſted in laying the moſt oppreſſive, and ruinous Taxes upon the People that any Nation can ſuffer; nay, he defended them in Parliament, when Attempts were made to repeal them; and what is ſtill more, he *bullied* the Speaker, and the whole Houſe, for admitting a Debate againſt them: The latter, of his own accord, brought a Bill into the Houſe, and had it carried into a Law, for repealing at one time near two hundred of the moſt *impoveriſhing* Taxes: And the Speech made from the Throne on that Occaſion, is juſtly recommended by Don *Geronymo de Uztariz* * as a Model for all Princes to proceed upon in regard to National

* See *The Theory and Practice of Commerce*, written by Order of his Catholic Majeſty, Vol. I. Chap. XXVIII. The Speech here referred to, was delivered from the Throne, *October* 29, 1721. And in conſequence thereof, about one hundred and fifty ſix Articles of *Britiſh* Manufactures were allowed to be exported *Duty free*, which before paid a Duty; and thirty eight Articles of Raw Materials were imported *Duty free*, by Virtue of the ſame Regulation. See *Crouch*'s *Book of Rates*, Cuſtoms inwards, and Cuſtoms outwards, where a diſtinct Account is given of the Taxes repealed by the eighth of *George* I. Chap. XV. Moreover, in the ſame Seſſions, though not in the ſame Act of Parliament, ſeveral other excellent Proviſions were made for granting Bounties and Premiums to the Importers of Pitch, and Tar, Hemp, and Naval Stores, from our Colonies in *North America*. And the Advancements which the *Britiſh* Nation have made in Shipping, Commerce, and Manufactures, and in all kinds of Induſtry, ſince the paſſing of this Law, have been prodigious. This was at the Beginning of his Miniſtry: And in the third Year of his preſent Majeſty, that excellent Law was enacted, which we mentioned before, Page 132, relating to the *Eaſt India* Company. But, to omit Matters of leſſer Note, the greateſt Effort towards benefiting a Nation, was that for which he received the greateſt Inſults and Abuſes, THE EXCISE SCHEME, by means of which the whole Iſland would have been made one general FREE PORT, and a *Magazine*, and *common Storehouſe* for all Nations.—Indeed the Exciſe Scheme was not a perfect Scheme at its firſt Appearance: But the Foundation was

National Commerce. Yet from that Moment, of so much Advantage to *Great Britain*, this able and judicious Minister was attacked with all the Rage and Bitterness, the Calumny and Invectives, that private Malice and Disappointments, and public Faction, joined to Disaffection, could possibly muster up. Such an ungrateful Treatment threw him into those Measures of *Self-Defence*, which, though not to be *justified*, were certainly more excusable in his Situation than in that of any other. And therefore, without entering into a Defence of all Parts of his Conduct, I am persuaded, that impartial Posterity will do him the Justice to acknowledge, that if ever a Statesman deserved well of the *British* Nation, Sir *Robert Walpole* was that Man. — Indeed the only true Way of discovering, whether we are advancing, or retreating in our Political, and Commercial Capacity, is to compare the Past with the Present, and to examine whether we have the same Quantity of pernicious Taxes, and monopolizing Patents now subsisting, as we had formerly: If we have not, it is our Business to be thankful for the Deliverance we have received, and to unite our Endeavours to be freed from the Remainder: And this is *real* Patriotism, and public Spirit. — Whereas the Persons who are pleased to assume to themselves the glorious Name of *Patriots*, act upon a very different Plan, and therefore deserve a very different Appellation. — But as the more immediate Design of this APPENDIX is to set before the Reader, the true Origin of Monopolies and Exclusions, this should lead us to set forth the true Reasons, why so shrewd and politic a Sovereign as Queen *Elizabeth* should chuse this Method of taxing, and impoverishing her Subjects by means of her Prerogative, rather than apply to Parliament for Fifteenths, Tenths, and Subsidies: For the doing this will prove to a Demonstration, that exclusive Grants were so far from ever having been an useful Institution in regard to the Public, that they were, from the Begin-

was good; and a very few Alterations would have rendered it a most useful Institution for the Purposes of *National* Commerce. But the Business of those Times was not to alter, mend, or improve, but to set up a Cry, and raise a Ferment. However, this Scheme, in its most imperfect State, would have defeated the Views of Monopolists, and have proved of great national Advantage. Nay, if the Bill had been so worded as to be only *permissive*, not *compulsory*, every Man in the Kingdom would, by this time, have made the Excise Scheme his own voluntary Choice: That is, he would have preferred the Method of putting his Goods in a Warehouse, and paying the Duties as he wanted them, rather than paying the Duties all at once at the Custom-house. —As a Proof of this, let it be observed, that the very Men who made the loudest Clamours about the Excise Scheme, in a few Years afterwards petitioned for a much worse, I mean the present Law relating to Tobacco; which is allowed on all Hands to be an Excise Scheme in Effect, and to have several Inconveniences, which that had not. —But to give some Salvo to the Matter, the Word *Permit*, is changed into that of *Certificate*.

Beginning, intended to be the Inſtruments of arbitrary Power, and Oppreſſion. — To unravel which Affair three Propoſitions muſt be laid down.

I. THAT a Prince who intends to govern arbitrarily, ought not to aſk ſuch Favours of his People, as may lay a Foundation for them to make reciprocal Demands; — but he ſhould fetch his chief Supplies out of the Stores of his own Prerogative.

II. THAT it is incompatible with the Views of ſuch a Prince to permit his Subjects in *general* to grow Wealthy by means of Liberty, and a free Trade.

III. THAT if it is his Aim to be the Source of Power, he muſt contrive Matters in ſuch a Manner, as to be likewiſe the Source of Property.

I. AS to the firſt of theſe Propoſitions, ſurely it is ſelf-evident. For what can be plainer than that a continual Dependence of the Crown upon the People for ſupport, muſt exalt the Power of the one, and depreſs that of the other? Queen *Elizabeth* was ſo ſenſible of this Matter, that ſhe reſolved to make uſe of her Prerogative almoſt upon all Occaſions, rather than apply to Parliament. And the great Secret of her artful Management conſiſted in this very thing. For her exceſſive Parſimony was owing to this Cauſe, and this only: And I think, it uſed to be a Saying either of hers, or ſome of her Miniſters, That the Prince who applies often to Parliament, is like a Maſter borrowing Money of his Servants, who is conſequently obliged to ſubmit to their Humours. Therefore ſhe had rather get one Shilling by means of her Prerogative, in which ſhe was beholden to nobody, than a thouſand Pounds by a Parliamentary Tax. And indeed, as ſhe was very unwilling to apply to Parliament, even in the greateſt Exigencies, ſo when ſhe did it, ſhe did not fail to urge the extreme Neceſſity, as a popular Topic of Juſtification. Nay, we find, that once, ſhe either refuſed, or returned the Subſidies (I forget which) when there was no immediate Occaſion for them, and by that means gained infinite Applauſe: But we never find, that ſhe conſented to a Law to abridge any Part of her vaſt Prerogative; tho' certainly the public Good was much nearer concerned in that Caſe, than in returning a temporary Subſidy. As to the Extent of the Liberty of the Subject on one ſide, and the Royal Prerogative on the other, the little that remained to the Subject (tho' that little was often encroached upon by *forced* Loans, and Benevolences)

nevolences) ſeemed to conſiſt in this ſingle Particular, *viz.* That no Tax could be raiſed upon the Lands, Perſons, or Properties, of the Subject, without conſent of Parliament, provided the Chattels, or Produce of thoſe Lands, were conſumed within the Kingdom. For, as to things either going out of the Kingdom, or coming in, the Sovereign alone held the * *Claves Regni*, and could lock, or unlock all the Ports at Pleaſure. And accordingly we find, that Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* I. King *Charles* I. and many other of our Princes, laid on what Impoſts, and Duties they pleaſed, merely by ſending Warrants to the Collectors of the reſpective Ports. But, in regard to Matters of *Home Manufacture*, and *Home Conſumption*, they ſeemed to take a more round-about Way. For inſtead of laying on a *direct* Tax, and ſo permitting all Perſons to exerciſe the Trade, provided they would pay the Tax (which would have been a much juſter, as well as a more advantageous Way of raiſing Money) they limited the Numbers to be imployed, and bargained for the Monopolies and Excluſions. And thus they ſet one Part of the Nation to prey upon the other; and, under the Notion of granting private Advantages to ſome, they riveted the public Chains on all: For every Man that was either concerned in any Excluſion, or hoped to be concerned, was of courſe a Wellwiſher to this Part of the Prerogative, becauſe he would ſupport, what he thought, though *very erroneouſly*, his own Intereſt. — Thus much as to the Matter of Fact; but an inquiſitive Reader will ſtill be apt to aſk, What Views could a Prince have in thus ſtudying as it were to impoveriſh his Subjects? and what Benefit can redound to himſelf in laying a Scheme to prevent an Increaſe of that Wealth, which would increaſe his own? — Now the Anſwer to this Queſtion will come under my

II. Second Propoſition, *viz.* That it is incompatible with the Views of a Prince, who intends to govern arbitrarily, to permit his Subjects, *in general*, to grow rich by Trade. For indeed, how can this be done without granting them a general Liberty? And if they are to have this general Liberty, he is no longer the abſolute Prince he intended to be. In Fact, if you expect Mankind to be induſtrious, you muſt make it appear, that they themſelves, and not others, are to injoy the Fruits of their Labours. And you cannot do this, till you grant them ſuch *Securities*, as will put it out of your Power to recall theſe Conceſſions, if you were diſpoſed. Beſides, Trade and Induſtry naturally create an independent Turn of Thinking, which Circumſtance neceſſarily inſpires an Horror, and Deteſtation of arbitrary Power. Moreover,

* This is my Lord *Bacon*'s own Expreſſion, who was as great an Inſtrument of Oppreſſion in the Affair of Monopolies, and of other arbitrary Proceedings, as ever exiſted.

Moreover, Freedom of Trade brings likewiſe with it Freedom of *Debate*, as well as Freedom of Thinking. Add to all this, that though the Revenue increaſes by means of a *free Trade*, the Greatneſs of the Prince is *comparatively* diminiſhed; and ten Millions may be in that reſpect a leſs Sum than one Million. — To illuſtrate this *ſeeming* Paradox let us borrow an Idea from private Life, and then apply: A Country Gentleman, for Inſtance, is Lord of a Manor, which clears him five hundred Pounds a Year; being a certain Tax, or Rent (call it which you pleaſe) received from an hundred poor Tenants, each of which miſerable Wretches hath no more than five Pounds a Year, after having paid his Lord's Rent, to ſubſiſt upon. Now this is ſo ſmall a Pittance, that it can hardly keep Life and Soul together; and therefore the Lord of the Manor may beat, and abuſe thoſe poor Creatures as long as he pleaſes; for in ſhort, their extreme Poverty prevents almoſt a Poſſibility of ſeeking a legal Redreſs. — This being the Caſe, we will now ſuppoſe, that by means of a free Trade, the Income both of the Landlord, and of the Tenants is raiſed to ten times the Value: I aſk therefore, Is the Landlord now as great a Man, *comparatively* ſpeaking, as he was before? Can he inſult, and abuſe his Tenants with the ſame Impunity, as he was uſed to do? Or, in plain *Engliſh*, can he be as much a Tyrant over his new, commercial, well-cloathed, and well-fed Subjects, as over his former, ragged, half-ſtarved Slaves, and Vaſſals? —No; he cannot: For he will find, that fifty Pounds a Year hath created a vaſt Difference in their Way of Thinking, to what five Pounds did; and though the Tenants of five Pounds *per Annum* could ſpare nothing out of their wretched Income to make Head againſt Oppreſſion, the Tenants of fifty Pounds will both *aſſociate* themſelves, and contribute largely towards procuring Aſſiſtance from others; they will harangue, *print*, and *publiſh*, and raiſe a general Ferment in order to defend their Rights, and Privileges, Properties, and Poſſeſſions, and ſecure them againſt all Attacks for the future. Therefore to apply this, —It is morally impoſſible, that an arbitrary Prince ſhould wiſh the *Generality* of his Subjects to be rich: For he cannot promote their Riches, without diminiſhing at the ſame Time his own comparative Greatneſs: And this is not the Thing which we naturally expect from an abſolute Monarch. Hence therefore it evidently appears, that though ſome arbitrary Governments may give *temporary* Incouragements to Trade, yet they never will do it but by Halves; they never can promote it but by partial Grants, and monopolizing Patents. For there is ſuch a *Vice in the Conſtitution* of an arbitrary Government, as a late Author hath well expreſſed it in regard to *France*, as muſt obſtruct all Attempts

tempts towards a generous, open, and univerſal Liberty. Hence therefore we now come to the

III. THIRD Point, which is, That if it is the Aim of the Prince to be the Source of *Power*, he muſt likewiſe endeavour to be the Source of *Property:* For the one cannot be ſupported without the other. And this follows ſo clearly from what hath been ſaid, that very little need be added by way of Illuſtration. As to the Methods of compaſſing ſuch an End, the old Gothic Conſtitution gave to the Crown ſuch an immenſe Power in regard to the *Landed Property*, by means of the military Tenures, Wards, Liveries, Forfeitures, *&c. &c.* that ſurely there was no need of any more: And with reſpect to the *Commercial Property*, the foregoing Inſtances of Patents, Monopolies, and Excluſions, Writs of Aſſiſtance, Star-Chamber Proſecutions, *&c. &c.* have ſufficiently proved, that no Man dared to be induſtrious, unleſs he acknowledged it both by Word and Deed, as an eſpecial Favour, and Act of Grace obtained from the Prince.—Upon the whole, Thus much, I think, may now be inſiſted on, becauſe it hath been fairly proved, *viz.* That Monopolies, and Excluſions, are the Remains of antient Tyranny and Oppreſſion;—That they *never* were calculated for the public Good, and never can be productive of it:—Nay, that at the Time of their Inſtitution, they actually were deſigned to create innumerable Dependents on the Court; ſuch Dependents as, in modern Phraſe, would be ſtiled *Placemen*, and *Penſioners*; and therefore we conclude that thoſe Perſons, who ſtand up in their Vindication, either *do not* know, or *will not* know, the manifold bad Conſequences attending theſe Things.

II.

THE SECOND INSTANCE promiſed to be produced, relates wholly to Foreign Trade: And the principal View of producing it at preſent, is to ſhew, that the Pretences urged with ſuch Confidence of late Years againſt opening the *Hudſon*'s Bay, and *Turky* Companies, are no other, than the ſtale, hacknied Apologies, uſed in Defence of other Monopolies, above one hundred and fifty Years ago; and may ſerve with equal Force of Reaſon, to defend any Abſurdity whatever. It will from hence likewiſe appear, that the Vindications of Monopolies, antient and modern, always come from the *ſame Quarter:* And conſequently, that the leſs Regard ought to be paid to the Sentiments, and Opinions of ſuch Vindicators, in whoſe Minds Partiality and Prejudice, *ſelf*, and *local* Intereſts have ſo viſibly the Aſcendant. The Paper itſelf was drawn up by Sir *Edward Sandys*, the Anceſtor, as I am informed,

of the preſent Lord *Sandys:* — And I can add with Pleaſure, that his Lordſhip ſeems to be as much the Inheritor of the Patriot Sentiments of his Anceſtor, as of his Name, and Fortunes; having greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the Services done to his Country in the Affair of Monopolies. Indeed at the Time when Sir *Edward* drew up this Paper, *viz.* the third of *James* I. (ſee *The Journal of the Houſe of Commons*, Vol. I. Page 218) it cannot be ſuppoſed, that the Principles of Commerce were ſo well underſtood, as they are at preſent. And therefore ſome few Errors are to be expected. But the Reader will eaſily believe, and this Paper will be a convincing Proof, that a good Head, joined to a good Heart, will at all Times do great Things. — This is all I have to add by way of Introduction; and as to what is the Author's own, that ſhall be marked by way of Quotation; and what is mine, ſhall be included in Hooks.

* " INSTRUCTIONS touching the Bill for a FREE TRADE.

" THE Committees from the Houſe of Commons, ſat five whole
" Afternoons upon the Bill. There was a great Concourſe of Clothiers,
" and Merchants of all Parts of this Realm, and eſpecially of *London*,
" who were ſo divided; as that all the Clothiers, and in Effect, all the
" Merchants of *England* complained grievouſly of the Ingroſſing, and
" Reſtraint of Trade *by the rich Merchants of London*, as being the
" Undoing, or great Hindrance of all the reſt. And of *London* Mer-
" chants three Parts named in the ſame Complaint againſt a fourth
" Part; and of that fourth Part ſome ſtanding ſtiffly *for their Company*,
" yet *repining at other Companies*; divers Writings, and Informations,
" were exhibited on both Parts. Learned Council was heard *for* the
" Bill, ☞ And divers of the principal of the Aldermen of *London*
" *againſt* it. All Reaſons exactly weighed, and examined, the Bill,
" together with the Reaſons on both Sides, was returned, and reported
" by the Committees to the Houſe; where at the Reading it was three
" ſeveral Times debated, and in the End paſt with great Conſent, and
" Applauſe of the Houſe (as being for the exceeding Benefit of all the
" Land) ſcarce forty Voices diſſenting from them.

" THE

* This Struggle for the Liberties of the People was two Years after the former; and ſeems to have taken its Riſe from the Speeches, and Remonſtrances that were made on that Occaſion. Mankind are naturally Friends to Truth; and if you once put them in the right Way, and ſtop up the By-Paths of Self-Love, and Self-Intereſt, they themſelves will take a Pleaſure in finding it out: And one Diſcovery will open the Way for many others.

" THE moſt principal Reaſons for the Inlargement of Trade were " theſe:

" I. Natural Right, the firſt Reaſon for a free Trade.

" ALL free Subjects are born inheritable as to Heir-Land, ſo alſo to " the free Exerciſe of their Induſtry in thoſe Trades whereto they ap- " ply themſelves, and whereby they are to live. Merchandizing be- " ing the chief, and richeſt of all other, and of greater Extent and Im- " portance, than all the reſt; it is againſt the NATURAL RIGHT, and " LIBERTIES of the Subjects of *England*, to reſtrain it into the Hands " of ſome few, as it now is. For although there may be now ſome " five or ſix thouſand Perſons (counting Children and Prentices) free " of the ſeveral Companies of Merchants in the whole, yet apparent " it is, that the Governors of theſe Companies, by their monopolizing " Orders, have ſo handled the Matter, as that the Maſs of the whole " Trade of all the Realm is in the Hands of ſome two hundred Per- " ſons, at the moſt! The reſt ſerving for a Shew only, and reaping " ſmall Benefit.

" II. Judgment of Parliament, the ſecond Reaſon for a free Trade.

" THE Law ſtands for it. And a Statute made the twelfth of " *Henry* VII. never repealed by Parliament, ☞ Only reſtrained by " Charters ſince procured (by which means all the Monopolies have " had their Original.) And the firſt of theſe Charters, ſince the making " of that Statute, was *purchaſed* in the End of the Reign of *Henry* VII. " at which Time *Empſon*, and *Dudley*, were Inſtruments of wronging, " and oppreſſing the People: Yet doth in no wiſe reſtrain the Liberty " of free Trade, but expreſſly allows it, with Reference unto that " very Act in the twelfth of his Reign, and ſo it continued until the " Reign of *Elizabeth*." [*Empſon*, and *Dudley*, were not the firſt who *ſold* Monopolies; for it was a common Practice with almoſt every Prince, and Miniſter, from the Conqueſt down to the Revolution, to do the like: This being the uſual Way of raiſing Money at a Pinch, without applying to Parliament; And the common Method of gratifying Court Favourites, and creating what we would call *Places* and *Penſions*. As to the Law of the Land, it is moſt undeniable, that both the Common and Statute Law were ever in favour of a free Trade, foreign and domeſtic. But alas! the Civil Power ſoon learned from the Popes of *Rome*, the pernicious Doctrine of *Non-obſtantes*; and then all our Laws and Conſtitutions were of no avail. For it was but to

inſert in the Body of the Grant, or Patent, the all-conquering Word, *Non-obſtante*, any Law, Cuſtom, Statute, *&c.* (in Imitation of the Popes diſpenſing Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters) and then neither the natural, nor civil Rights of the Subject were at all to be regarded; but every thing was to ſubmit to this uſurping *Non-obſtante*. Thus it is, as I ſaid before, and ſhall have too many Occaſions to ſay again, that the Corruptions of Popery ſpread much wider, than is commonly imagined, and are lurking at this Day in ſeveral Parts of our Civil Conſtitution, after the Principles, on which they were built, were baniſhed out of the Eccleſiaſtical. — But though *Empſon*, and *Dudley*, were not the firſt who begun the Practice, they were the firſt who begun it after ſo expreſs a Law was made to prevent it: And it is worthy of the Reader's Notice, that they did not pretend to contradict this Law in Words, but ſeemed to allow it, at the ſame Time that they were deſtroying its Force, and Intention. Their Pretence therefore was, to incorporate a Company for the Benefit of a free, and open Trade, *with a Power of making By-Laws for the good Government thereof*. And indeed whoever doth this, need do no more: For theſe *By-Law* Legiſlators will take effectual Care to do all the reſt themſelves: And if one Pretence, or one Diſguiſe will not ſerve, another ſhall. Moreover, in regard to the particularizing *Empſon*, and *Dudley*, as theſe Miniſters were become very odious, the Author, Sir *Edward Sandys*, did right to mention *them*, and not others: Though he might with equal Juſtice, had it been prudent, have mentioned all the Miniſtry of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Favourites of the Prince then reigning. For in regard to Sir *Robert Cecil*, and others, they were ſtill living, and in high Credit at Court; and with reſpect to Sir *Francis Bacon*, the Extracts of his Speeches under the former Head, are a ſufficient Proof of his manner of thinking, and acting upon ſuch Occaſions. — Indeed I was promiſed an original Letter of his, wrote in Confidence to a Friend, wherein he boaſts that he got five thouſand Pounds a Year by the Sale of Monopolies. — But as I have not yet procured it, the Reader muſt judge for himſelf, whether the Thing is probable or not. Certain it is, that in thoſe Times, the Court would grant a Monopoly for almoſt any thing that was aſked, and paid for. And I have ſeen myſelf, in *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, a Grant from King *James* I. to ſix or eight Perſons to teach the *noble Science of Defence*; together with a Power of examining, and licenſing all other Maſters of this noble Art; and what is truly ſhocking, a Power of adminiſtring Oaths!]

" III. Example

" III. Example of Nations, the third Reaſon for a free Trade.

" THE Example of all other Nations generally in the World, who " avoid in themſelves, and *hate* in us the monopolizing Way of Traf- " fic. For it cannot be otherwiſe accounted than a Monopoly, when " ſo large a Commodity is reſtrained into the Hands of ſo few in Pro- " portion, to the Prejudice of all others, who by LAW, and NATURAL " RIGHT might have Intereſt therein. And whereas ſome alledge, " that there are like Companies in other Countries, as of the *Eaſt In-* " *dies* in *Liſbon*, the Houſe of Contraction there, the *Frontega* at *Ve-* " *nice*, the *Treinſana* at *Noremberg*; theſe Allegations are either un- " true, or improper. There are Places of Aſſembly for Merchants, " and to conſult for good Orders, in all other Countries, but without " the Reſtraint of Trading from any Man. And how Merchandize " by this Freedom doth flouriſh in other Nations, and principally in " the Low Countries more than in ours [the *Dutch Eaſt India* Com- pany being hardly then ſet up] " it is apparent to all the World.

" IV. Increaſe of Wealth, a fourth Reaſon for a free Trade.

" THE Increaſe of Wealth generally of all the Land, by the ready " Vent of all our Commodities to the Merchant at higher Rate. For " where many Buyers are, Wares grow dearer; and they that buy " dear at home, muſt ſell dear abroad. This will alſo make our Peo- " ple more induſtrious." [A latent Error runs through the Reaſoning of every Part of this Paragraph, excepting the laſt Sentence: — The Error is, That *Money is Wealth*; whereas in Fact, *Induſtry is Wealth*; and Money is only the ready and expeditious Method of circulating the Produce or Manufactures of this Induſtry from hand to hand. It is therefore not true, that an open Trade would enhance the Price of our Manufactures, if either bought at home of the Maker, or ſold abroad to the Conſumer: Nay, the neceſſary Effect is juſt the contrary. For a free Trade is the neceſſary Cauſe of Rivalſhip, and Emulation, both in regard to the Manufacturer, and Exporter: And therefore in ſuch a Situation, all Goods whatever will be made in as high Perfec- tion, and ſold at as low a Price, as can be afforded with a living Pro- fit.—Indeed the Sums of Money actually circulating throughout the Kingdom, by this means would, in time, become almoſt immenſe; but this Increaſe of Money doth not ariſe from the *Dearneſs*, but from the *extraordinary Quantity* of the Things that are vended. And to make this Matter yet plainer, I ſhall endeavour to illuſtrate it by a re-

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cent Example, which perhaps will make the ſtrongeſt Impreſſion on the Minds of *Gentlemen*, becauſe they are more converſant with the Fact laid before them. It is the Caſe of Poſt-Horſes, and Poſt-Chaiſes: —Now had there been a Company incorporated with the pompous Preamble, " For the better ſupplying of Poſt-Horſes, and Poſt-Chaiſes, " for His Majeſty's loving Subjects; and for preventing of Impoſitions " on Travellers, and extortionate Demands, on account of the Neceſ- " ſity they are under to proceed in their Journey, be the Price never " ſo unreaſonable. WE THEREFORE, taking theſe Premiſes into ma- " ture Conſideration, do ordain, conſtitute, and appoint, *&c. &c.*" I ſay, had there been ſuch a Company, and ſuch a Preamble, what would have been the Conſequence? Why truly this; The Price of Poſt-Horſes, and Poſt-Chaiſes, would have been at leaſt *Cent. per Cent.* as dear as they are at preſent; and the Parliament would have had enough to do every Seſſions in making new Laws, and Regulations againſt the Combinations, and exceſſive Demands of this *incorporated* Company; the Mayors of Towns, and Juſtices of the Peace, would have been armed with new Powers to ſettle the Prices, the Judges of the Aſſize would be frequently appealed to for determining the Diſputes relating to theſe Affairs: And, in ſhort, this one original Blunder of the Legiſlature, would have created a thouſand others. Whereas at preſent, by letting all Things alone, that is, by leaving Things free and open, as Nature and Providence deſigned them, the Prices have ſettled of themſelves, and are become as moderate, and reaſonable, as can be wiſhed; no Combinations, no Quarrels, Appeals, or Litigations about the Price are formed: And yet Horſes, and Chaiſes are to be had in Plenty all over the Kingdom, and *better*, and *cheaper* than in any Part of *Europe*. So that upon the whole, though the Price of riding Poſt is greatly reduced, the Uſe of Poſt-Horſes, and Chaiſes, is proportionably multiplied: And the Conſequence of both is, that the Sums of Money actually paid on theſe Accounts may perhaps be ten times greater than they would have been, had this Trade (for ſo it may be called) been put under the Management of Governors, and Directors, Courts of Aſſiſtants, Committees, Freemen of the Company, *&c. &c.*—Hence therefore, the Reader will be pleaſed to make one general Remark, *viz.* That if all Reſtraints were taken off, and every other Trade was as free as this, one half at leaſt, of thoſe cumberſome Volumes called the *Statutes at Large*, which are now ſo great a national Grievance, might be laid aſide at once, or rather made a Bonefire of, by way of rejoicing for ſuch an happy Deliverance.]

" V. Equal

" V. Equal Diſtribution, a fifth Reaſon for a free Trade.

" THE more equal Diſtribution of the Wealth generally of all the " Land, which is a great Stability and Strength to the Realm, even " as the equal diſtributing of Nouriſhment in a Man's Body. The " contrary whereof is inconvenient in all Eſtates, and oftentimes " breaks out into Miſchief, when too much Fulneſs puffs up ſome " with Preſumption, and too much Emptineſs leaves the reſt in per- " petual Diſcontent, the Mother of Deſire of Innovations, and Trou- " bles. And this is the proper Fruit of Monopolies: Example hereof " may be *London*, and the reſt of the Realm. The Cuſtoms and Im- " ports of *London* come to 110,000*l.* a Year; and of the reſt of the " whole Realm but to 17,000*l.*"

" VI. Increaſe of Shipping, and Mariners, a ſixth Reaſon " for a free Trade.

" THE Increaſe of Shipping, and eſpecially of Mariners in all Parts " of *England*, and how greatly the Mariners of the Realm have decayed " in all Places of late time, and with how great Danger of the State " in theſe late Wars, is known to them that have been imployed in " that kind of Service, who do alſo attribute the Cauſe thereof to this " Reſtraint of Trade; free Traffic being the Breeder, and Maintainer " both of Ships, and Mariners; as by memorable Example in the Low " Countries may be ſeen." [*Note*, The Number of Mariners thro'- out the Kingdom were then ſaid to be but ten thouſand. See *Hume*'s *Hiſtory of* James I. Chap. VI.]

" VII. Profit of the Crown, a ſeventh Reaſon for a free Trade.

" THE Increaſe of the Cuſtoms, and Subſidies to the King, which " doth neceſſarily follow the Increaſe of foreign Traffic and Wealth, " is to be conſidered: And they which ſay otherwiſe, will dare to ſay " any thing. Theſe Reaſons are in great Part ſet down in the Act of " the twelfth of *Henry* VII. — Other particular Reaſons there are, " which this preſent time doth yield.

" VIII. Preſent Opportunity abroad, an eighth Reaſon for a free Trade.

" UNDER our gracious *Solomon*, a Prince of Wiſdom, and Peace, " we are like to be in League, or Amity with all Nations; whereby " as there will be greater Freedom abroad to trade to all Places, ſo it " is fit to have greater at home for all Perſons to trade. This Altera- " tion of Times may make that fit now, which in Times of Hoſtility " might have ſeemed unfit.

" IX. Neceſſity at home, a ninth Reaſon for a free Trade.

" As there will be greater Opportunity abroad, ſo alſo much more " Neceſſity at home: For what elſe ſhall become of Gentlemens Sons, " who cannot live by Arms, when there are no Wars? And Learn- " ing-Preferments are common to all, and mean: So that nothing re- " mains fit for them, ſave only Merchandize; (and ſuch is the Uſe of " other politic Nations) unleſs they turn Serving-men, which is a poor " Inheritance.

REASONS for continuing the Reſtraint on Trade ſtated, and anſwered.

" I. Imputation on the State.

" It is a Taint to the King, and State, that theſe reſtrained Com- " panies ſhould be called, or counted *Monopolies*. And by this Act " we juſtify, and ſtrengthen the Complaint of the Hanſe Towns, and " other Nations againſt the State, for ſuffering ſuch Companies.

Anſwer. " The ſame Reaſon doth juſtify all the Monopolies that " ever were: It is no Taint to the State, if Abuſes creep in; but if " Reformations deſired by Parliament be denied. But ſurely this " Taint can no way attaint his Majeſty, who hath declared himſelf a " juſt Enemy to all theſe unjuſt Monopolies." [The very Apology here brought by the Monopoliſts is a Proof, that other Nations would not be diſpleaſed to ſee theſe Excluſions ſet aſide. For indeed every excluſive Grant is a reciprocal Diſadvantage, and a Stop to mutual Induſtry;—though the Detriment is much greater to that Nation, which authoriſes the Excluſion, than to the other which doth not. However, as both are Loſers, we have no need to fear, that our Correſpondents abroad (though that hath been ſometimes ſuggeſted) would reſent our ſetting a Trade free: Nay, they would rejoice at it, becauſe *their* Intereſt would be promoted as well as ours. As to the Compliment paid King *James*, That he was an Enemy to Monopolies, it was artful in Sir *Edward* ſo to do: But the Sequel will ſhew, that he was juſt ſuch an Enemy to them, as his Predeceſſor Queen *Elizabeth* was before him; and as all other Monarchs are, who intend to rule arbitrarily, and to check a Spirit of Independency, and Liberty in the Minds of their People.]

" II. Not Monopolies.

" These Companies are not Monopolies: For a Monopoly is when " Liberty of Selling, due to all Men by Right, is reſtrained to *one*, " with Prejudice to all others.

Anſwer.

Answer. "THE Name of Monopoly, though taken originally "from personal Unity, yet is fitly extended to an improportionable "Number of the Sellers in regard of the Ware that is [or might be] "sold. If ten Men had the only Sale of all the Horses in *England*, "this were a Monopoly; much more the Company of Merchant Ad- "venturers; which in effect are not above two hundred Persons:— "And the Clothiers having no utterance of Cloth but to the Merchant "Adventurers, they, by a Combination among themselves, will buy at "what Time, what Quantity, and what Prices themselves list; where- "by the Clothiers are fain often to lay their Cloths to pawn, to slack "their Market, to the utter Undoing of their poor Workmen, their "Wives, and Children." [The Advocates for the *Turky* Company used the very same Plea to the Parliament with this here mentioned, *viz.* That their Company is no Monopoly: And the precious Reason assigned for it was, that all *mere* Merchants (by which is meant, all Persons who buy in *gross*, and sell in *gross*, without ever dividing their Merchandize into *smaller Parcels*, than they receive them: And, by the By, if we go to the Strictness of the Letter, there are scarce *ten* such Merchants in the whole Kingdom) and likewise that all Lords, and Lords Sons, upon paying a Fine of fifty Pounds, had a Right to the Freedom of their Company. It was thus that they proved themselves to be no Monopolists. But one general Answer will suffice for all this Chicane: *viz.* That in a *Commercial Sense*, every Exclusion from the common Benefit of Trade, due to all Men by *natural Right*, is a MONOPOLY. And the Degrees of this Monopoly are either greater, or less, in proportion to the Restraints and Abridgments of such natural Right.]

"III. Keeping up our Commodities.

"THESE Companies keep up the Price of our Commodities abroad, "by avoiding an Over-glut of our Commodities in Places whereunto "they trade. And this Experience doth witness: For our Cloth is "sold of late Years much dearer than in former Times: Whereas "contrariwise, when Trade is free, many Sellers will make more "cheap, and of less esteem.

Answer. "IT is true, that all Companies keep up their Commo- "dities for their own private Lucre; but they do it unjustly, and to "the Discontent of all other Men: Which have been the Cause of so "many Edicts of the Empire against the Company of Merchant Ad- "venturers (which hath driven them so often to shift their Mart) and

" it is the Cauſe, that our Merchants are *univerſally hated*; no other " Chriſtian State either uſing, or induring ſuch reſtrained Companies " in Matters of Merchandiſe." [So far the Author was certainly in the right: For though all other Nations have at preſent as many Monopolies as the *Engliſh*, if not more, they had them not when this Author wrote. As to what follows,—he endeavours, in the Remainder of this Anſwer, to prove, that a free and open Trade would not ſink the Price of *Engliſh* Commodities at a foreign Market; than which nothing could be more abſurd, and incredible. But yet, I think, I can trace the Steps by which he, and many others, have fallen into this egregious Error. — In the firſt Place, the capital Miſtake, that *Money is Riches*, is the Baſis of all: And then, being unwilling to allow, that a free Trade would cauſe our Goods to be ſold for *leſs Money* at a foreign Market, they are obliged to infer, that the *National Ballance* of Trade, and the *Mercantile Ballance* of Trade are one, and the ſame Thing: Whereas theſe Ideas are perfectly diſtinct, and may be (as they often are) intirely repugnant to each other. For the Buſineſs of the Merchant is to get as large a Profit as he can upon ſmall Exports: And his perpetual Thirſt after a Monopoly is for this very End: But the Intereſt of the Nation is to promote general Induſtry, and Labour at home; which conſiſts in exporting the greateſt Quantities at the ſmalleſt Profits; in order to tempt Foreigners by Dint of Cheapneſs to buy our Manufactures. Therefore what is Gains to the one, may be Loſs to the other. Add to this, that the Views of the Merchant are *merely* and *ſolely* to get Money; and if he can get this by imploying the feweſt Hands, he thinks it ſo much the better: Whereas the Views of a Nation ſhould be *wholly* and *ſolely* to promote Induſtry; and then National Induſtry will always command as much Caſh, and Credit as are wanted for the Purpoſes of Circulation. Nay, what is ſtill more; if it were poſſible to increaſe the Quantity of Money in a Nation by diminiſhing the Quantity of Labour (which is the utmoſt that a Monopoliſt could propoſe, even upon his own Hypotheſis) this would be ſo far from being a national Advantage, that it would become one of the moſt fatal Diſaſters, and impoveriſhing Syſtems that could befal any People. And yet the whole Defence of the *Hudſon*'s Bay Company, when that Affair was laſt before the Parliament, turned upon this very Thing. — And whenever it ſhall come on again, we ſhall be told over and over the ſame idle Story, about the Ballance of Trade, Savings to the Nation, *&c. &c.*—Indeed their Advocates have fully proved, that this excluſive Company keep up the Price of *Engliſh*

liſh Commodities at *Hudſon*'s Bay with a Vengeance; And if this is any Merit, if this is a Saving to the Nation, they certainly have it in the higheſt Degree, they certainly ſave nine Parts in ten of the Labour that might be exported. But every honeſt, impartial Man will readily confeſs, that it had been much more for the Intereſt of the Public, that Woollen Gloves had been ſold to the *Indians* for *Sixpence*, than for NINE SHILLINGS the Pair, and other Things in Proportion.]

" IV. Vending all now.

" THE Companies that are now, do vend all the Commodities of " the Land; and yet are they hardly able to live one by another.

Anſwer. " IT is not all vended which the Land might ſpare; and " that by Reaſon of the Courſes held by theſe Companies, to their own " exceſſive Gain, and certain Loſs of all other Men. Beſides, when " Traffic ſhall flouriſh with us, as it doth in other Countries where " Trade is free, and namely in the Low Countries, who thereby have " ſupported the huge Charge of their long Wars; Things merchantile " will increaſe daily by this Incouragement to the Subject's Induſtry, " even as they do there. For natural Commodities are more than " trebled by the Acceſs of Art and Induſtry: And howſoever, yet the " Diviſion of Wealth will be more equal: For now, by plotting of " the Governors of theſe Companies, ſome few over-grown Men de- " vour the Wealth, and make Merry, whilſt the reſt, even of their " own Company, want and weep." [The Plea here made uſe of, That the Merchant Adventurers ſell all the Commodities of the Land, is the ſame in effect with that of the late Advocates for the *Hudſon*'s Bay Company, *viz.* That they buy all the Commodities produced; *i. e.* they buy all the Beaver and Fur, which the *Indians* bring down to the Forts; and if they brought more down, the Company would buy more. Now theſe Monopoliſts take that for granted in this Argument, which they know to be falſe by their own Practice; *viz.* That the Proſpect of ſuperior Gains is no Incentive to future Endeavours: They know, that they themſelves would not endeavour to preſerve this Monopoly, if they were ſure of being Loſers, inſtead of Gainers by it. And therefore as the Clothiers in the one Caſe, and the *Indians* in the other, have no Incouragement to Labour and Induſtry, what can we expect, but that they ſhould take no more Pains, than what is barely neceſſary and unavoidable? The real Wonder would be to ſee any People deſirous of being induſtrious, without Incouragement. For Self-Love, and Self-Intereſt, will as naturally prompt a Man to Idleneſs, and Lazineſs, if he foreſees no Reward for his Induſtry, as it

will teach him to be diligent, and indefatigable with the Proſpect of Gain. Put the Caſe therefore, that the Monopoliſts, and the *Indians* had changed Stations; and then I aſk, what Stomach would theſe active Monopoliſts have to bear the Fatigues of hunting Beaver, and ſuffer all the Inclemencies of Weather; if they were ſure, that after they had been at all this Pains, the *Indians* would give them in exchange but ſixteen Flints for a Beaver Skin, or one Pound of Vermillion for ſixteen Beavers?]

THE fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth Pretences are ſo frivolous, and ſo little to our preſent Purpoſe, that I ſhall intirely omit them. As to the thirteenth, though it is in itſelf perhaps one of the weakeſt of all, yet as it hath been at all times the moſt prevalent with a certain Set of Men, and the moſt repugnant to the national Proſperity, I ſhall be obliged to mention, and to deſcant a little upon it. The Plea is this; "That the deſtroying of Monopo-
"lies would hurt the Intereſts of the City of *London*, which ought to
"be upheld, becauſe it is the head City of the Kingdom." To which the Author returned the following Anſwer, "That the intended Bill
"was *for* the Intereſts of the City of *London*, unleſs we confine *Lon-*
"*don* into ſome two hundred Men's Purſes. The reſt of the City of
"*London*, with the whole Realm, ſue greatly for this Bill, and cry
"they are undone, if it ſhould be croſſed." [Now though this Anſwer is good in the Main, yet it is not ſufficiently explicit; and therefore may be conſidered more as an *Argumentum ad Hominem*, than a thorough Confutation of the Objection. And indeed as long as this Objection is ſuppoſed to have any weight, ſo long we may aſſure ourſelves, that the Repreſentatives of the City of *London* will be *inſtructed* by their Conſtituents to oppoſe all Endeavours towards putting Trade upon a broad, and national Baſis. Nay, as theſe Gentlemen, on Account of their Situation, and Commercial Connections, have been generally ſuppoſed to be the beſt Judges in Commercial Matters, a kind of *implicit Faith* hath been repoſed on their Opinions; and their Deciſions have been too frequently regarded, as carrying a ſort of *Papal Infallibility* in the Commercial World. It is therefore become abſolutely neceſſary to examine into the Grounds of the foregoing Aſſertion, That an open and national Commerce would be prejudicial to the Intereſts of the City of *London*. — For the Reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that I do not once expoſtulate the Point with the Citizens on the Footing of Juſtice, natural Right, or common Equity; though ſurely one might

ſay

ſay a little on that head, and venture to hint at leaſt; That if the Intereſts of the Nation, and of the City of *London*, are in any reſpect incompatible, the latter ought to give way to the former.—But, waving all that, my preſent Buſineſs is to prove, that a free Trade in the Out-Ports can never be detrimental to the real Intereſts of the City of *London*. And in order to do this, I would beg leave to aſk one Queſtion, *viz.* Under what Idea would the City of *London* chuſe to conſider itſelf in this Affair? If under that of a Shop, or Magazine to ſerve Cuſtomers, (which is certainly the moſt natural Idea for the Metropolis of the Kingdom) then, I ſay, it can never be the Intereſt of this Shopkeeper, that all his Cuſtomers ſhould be poor, and ready to ſtarve: For the poorer they are, the leſs able to become good Cuſtomers at his Shop. If the Citizens would chuſe to conſider themſelves under the generous Notion of *Monopoliſts*, and *Excluders*, and the reſt of the Nation as *excluded* from their natural Right to a free Trade; this State of the Caſe, ſo flattering to partial Self-Love, and Self-Intereſt, is both falſe in itſelf, and if it were true, would be of no Service, but a real Detriment to the Citizens of *London:* It is falſe, becauſe the Citizens in general are the *Excluded*, and not the *Excluders* in regard to foreign Trade; inaſmuch as the whole Number of the Freemen of *London* belonging to the *Eaſt India*, the *Turky*, and the *Hudſon*'s Bay Companies are hardly an hundredth Part of the Inhabitants of the City. Nay farther, allowing that the Trade was free, and open to all the Inhabitants of *London*, without Fine, without By-Laws, or any other cramping Regulation, but ſhut up from the reſt of the Subjects of the Kingdom;—yet this itſelf would create a Monopoly againſt the far greater Part of the Inhabitants of the Metropolis; becauſe none could reap the Benefit of ſuch an excluſive, detrimental Trade, but the Exporters, and Importers of Goods, who in the Nature of the Thing, can be but a very few in Compariſon to the Numbers of other Tradeſmen neceſſary in a large City. And therefore the other Tradeſmen muſt become the Slaves, and Dupes of theſe Monopoliſts, contributing to rivet the Chains on the Necks of others, nay on themſelves too, without receiving any Profit or Compenſation.—The monopolizing Merchant *taxes* his Fellow-Citizens both in his Exports and Imports; and yet expects, that they ſhould blindly, and ſtupidly vindicate his Cauſe, and make it their own!—This being the Caſe, let the Citizens themſelves be the Judges, whether in ſtanding up for a Monopoly of ſome few of their Fellow-Citizens to their own Prejudice, they do not in reality leave the Subſtance, and catch at the Shadow. Let them likewiſe

likewiſe conſider, which are indeed their *real* Friends,—thoſe who would promote a general, and univerſal Commerce all over the Kingdom, which muſt of Courſe center in the Capital;—or thoſe others, who would check Labour, and tax Induſtry, who would ſqueeze all the Wealth of the Kingdom into the City of *London*, and the Wealth of the City of *London* into the Purſes of a Score or two over-grown Monopoliſts, and tyrannical Ingroſſers.]

As to the fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the reſt of the Pretences, as they are both trifling in themſelves, and contain nothing in particular relating to the preſent Times, I believe the Reader will readily excuſe my not mentioning them.—It will be more to the Purpoſe to ſet forth the extraordinary Conſequences of this honeſt, and in the Main, very judicious Repreſentation. But alas! what ſhall I ſay on this Occaſion? Shall I ſay, what every Lover of his Country would wiſh to hear, that this worthy Patriot received the Thanks of his King and Country for his modeſt, ſenſible, and nervous Vindication of the natural Rights of Mankind? No: Nothing of this was to be expected from the Prerogative, and arbitrary Government of *good Old England*. In ſhort, this *deſerving* Member of the *Engliſh* Parliament met with a Priſon for his Reward, even during the Sitting of the Houſe; ſuch was the Regard paid to Civil Liberties, and *Parliamentary* Privileges in thoſe Times! And the King, notwithſtanding he was complimented with the Name of *Solomon* in this very Memorial, ſhewed no Diſpoſition of purſuing *Solomon*'s Maxim, viz. *Of eſtabliſhing his Throne by Righteouſneſs*. Indeed, a little before the Meeting of the Parliament, or at leaſt before this Repreſentation againſt Monopolies, the King had, of his own accord, recalled ſeveral of thoſe Patents which were complained of in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time: But whether this was done out of a Regard to the Memory of his Predeceſſor, and to fulfil her Royal Promiſe, which ſhe did not live to execute herſelf;—or whether with a View of gaining Popularity at his firſt Acceſſion to the Throne, and in order to obtain the larger Subſidies from the *Engliſh* Parliament, is impoſſible now to determine. But certain it is, that, whatever his Motives were, he had no Views to the Benefit, and Extenſion of National Commerce, by theſe Revocations; becauſe he not only refuſed to give his Aſſent to this Bill for aboliſhing the Company of Merchant Adventurers, but impriſoned thoſe Members that were active in promoting it. Nay, immediately upon the riſing of this very Parliament, he erected an excluſive Company for trading with *Spain*, and *Portugal*;

and

and would have proceeded farther, ſo as to have included the Trade to *France* in the ſame Monopoly, had not the inſuing Parliament interpoſed, and annulled both the one, and the other. See the Preamble of the third of *James* I. Chap. VI. — In ſhort, his weak and childiſh Extravagancies obliged him to make frequent Applications to Parliament: This Meaſure, ſo cautiouſly avoided by his Predeceſſor, threw him into freſh Difficulties: For the Conſequence was, That either he muſt give up ſome Points of his darling Prerogative, or obtain no Supplies. — Supplies were to be obtained at any rate, in order to feed his devouring Favourites. But wherever he could, he ſtuck to his Prerogative: And as a Proof of it, let it be obſerved, that he made a new Grant of moſt of thoſe Patents, which he had formerly recalled; beſides beſtowing ſeveral others, foreign and domeſtic, on his Friends, and Favourites; and to complete the Scene, by Virtue of his own Warrant, without Vote of the Houſe, or Act of Parliament, he frequently laid Impoſitions upon the Manufactures of the Kingdom, when exported, and on raw Materials, if imported, to the Value of five, and ſometimes as high as twenty five *per Cent*.

JUDGE therefore by theſe Circumſtances, whether the Taxes were moſt oppreſſive, and moſt impoveriſhing then, or now; and whether we ought to wiſh for the RESTORATION of thoſe Times, and prefer them to the preſent: Judge likewiſe, whether Monopolies, and Excluſions were ever neceſſary, or ever vindicable; And above all, pleaſe to reflect, that every Plea, Pretence, or Apology urged at this Day in defence of theſe Things, is nothing elſe but a nauſeous Repetition of the ſame idle, canting Story, which hath been confuted a thouſand Times over. As to the *Spaniſh*, and *Portugal* Company, the Trade to thoſe Countries is now free, and unlimited; therefore Experience hath fully ſhewn us, that it can be ſafely carried on, without the Management of an excluſive Company. But if the Excluſion had ſtill continued, I muſt inſiſt upon what I have proved before, and now repeat, That the Arguments which might be drawn from the Proceedings of the Popiſh Inquiſition, the Bigotry of an ignorant, haughty, and furious People, and the natural Jealouſy of the whole *Spaniſh* Nation, would have created a much more plauſible, and ſpecious Pretence for keeping up that Monopoly, than for any other now exiſting. With what Face then can any Man be an Advocate for others? —

AND now after this long and tedious Detail, I muſt beg the Reader to conſider the Importance of the Subject, and in conſequence thereof

to

to judge the more favourably of the Length of this SECTION, and APPENDIX. Nothing of the like Nature will occur hereafter. But it ſeemed neceſſary in the preſent Caſe, to obviate every Plea, to refute every Cavil, to ſtrip off all Diſguiſes, and to lay naked before the Reader the baſe, but true Original of theſe odious, and inſlaving Uſurpations. In one word, As we are now bleſſed with Liberty of Conſcience, and a free Government, we want nothing to complete our Happineſs under a Race of excellent Princes, but that Liberty of Commerce, to which every Man is intitled both by the Right of Nature, and the general Tenor of the Laws of his Country: — And towards the attaining of which our gracious Sovereigns of the Houſe of *Hanover* have ever manifeſted the readieſt Concurrence. This I ſay, and inſiſt upon, without fear of the Imputation of Flattery; becauſe it is neither more, nor leſs than the *ſimple Truth:* For, ſince the coming of this *patriot* Family to the Throne, many Monopolies have been deſtroyed, and the Trade thrown intirely open; and many more greatly weakened, and rendered leſs oppreſſive; and yet not one new Excluſion hath been erected, not one monopolizing Patent hath been granted, excepting to the Inventors of new Diſcoveries as a reaſonable *Recompence*, for fourteen Years. — Now this Circumſtance of deſtroying, opening, and weakening ſo many Monopolies in ſo ſhort a Time, is what no Nation in *Europe* can boaſt of but ourſelves; neither could we do it in any Age but the preſent. — May we ſtill go on, and complete what is wanting!

The End of the Appendix.

HAVING

HAVING brought the Treatiſe thus far, the Author is deſirous of laying it before his Commercial Friends, and other proper Judges, during this Receſs from public Buſineſs; hoping to receive the Benefit of their Correction, and Improvement, while he is proceeding on with the reſt. And indeed his general Plan being now ſufficiently laid open, an intelligent Reader cannot fail of judging of the Nature, and Importance of what is to follow: And conſequently, if he approves of the Author's Deſign, and Manner of conducting it, he may ſuggeſt ſuch uſeful Hints, and Obſervations, as would probably have eſcaped the Author's Notice, but which he ſhall moſt thankfully receive, and incorporate into his Work.

THE Author is the more particularly earneſt in making this humble Requeſt to the judicious Lovers of their Country; inaſmuch as without ſome kind Aſſiſtance of this Sort, it will be extremely difficult for him to go through all the Parts of this extenſive Subject, eſpecially that relating to Taxes, and to execute his Undertaking in the Manner he could wiſh. For indeed the Reaſons on the *moral* Tendency, and *commercial* Uſe of *proper* Taxes, have never yet been exhibited to the Public;—or if they have, the Author hath not been ſo happy as to meet with them: And therefore, ſince he muſt ſtill conſider them as a *new Syſtem*, he would be the more deſirous of producing it finiſhed, and complete to public View, and in ſome Degree not unworthy of public Attention.

AS to the Author's own Theory, it is certainly no complex Thing, but is ſufficiently clear, and plain: *viz.* If you have a Mind to have your People in *general* honeſtly, and uſefully imployed, lay your chief Taxes upon Idleneſs, and Pleaſures: For ſuch Taxes will make all People frugal, and induſtrious: And Frugality, and Induſtry neceſſarily create Wealth: The INFALLIBLE CONSEQUENCE of Wealth is *Injoyment*; and Injoyment is the propereſt Subject for Taxation. Thus therefore the Circle goes round, the more Taxes *(of this ſort)* the more Riches,—the more Riches the more Pleaſures,—the more Pleaſures the more Taxes,—the more Taxes the more Riches, *&c. &c.*—Or, if you prefer to conſider the Subject in another View, then I would ſay, Aboliſh every Tax, and remove all Impediments whatever, which might prevent Self-Love, the *Grand Mover*, from operating for the Public Good: But bar up with high Taxes, Duties, and Impoſitions, all the Avenues, and By-Paths, which might make an

Opening for irregular, or corrupt Self-Love to decline from the great Road of private Virtue, and public Happineſs. And when you have ſet this Plan once in Motion, you have all the Certainty, which is to be expected in human Affairs, that it will not miſcarry: For the daily, and hourly Collection of the Revenue, is a conſtant and never-ceaſing Agent in the Execution of your Syſtem: Whereas all other Applications to Law, or Juſtice, can proceed, even at the beſt, only by Fits, and Starts. Thus therefore, Rewards and Puniſhments are the grand Hinges, on which, not only Government, and Religion, but national Commerce, and national Induſtry, ought to turn: And indeed, the nearer you bring your Commercial Ideas to the Standard of good Government, and ſound Religion, the more laſting, the more extenſive, and the more perfect is your Plan.

BUT though the general Nature of the Subject is ſo very plain, and intelligible; and though the Application of it would be extremely eaſy to a State *now in forming*; yet it requires the niceſt and cooleſt Judgment to adapt the ſeveral Parts of it to a State *already formed*. And nothing ſhould be offered to the Regard of the Public, but what is really practicable, and may be introduced, without throwing the Body Politic into unnatural, and dangerous Convulſions. As to the Remainder of this Work, the Skeleton thereof is as follows:

CHAP. II. of PART II. continued, *viz.*

SECTION III.

A Polity for improving our Colonies, and extending the Trade between them and the Mother-Country to their mutual Advantage.

SECTION IV.

A Polity for making all Ports free, and eaſing Trade of ſeveral Burdens.

SECTION V.

A Polity for ſuppreſſing Smuggling.

SECTION VI.

A Polity for a ſure, and expeditious Manning of the Fleet without Preſſing.

SECTION VII.

A Polity for making good Roads, navigable Rivers, and Canals.

SECTION VIII.

A Polity for eſtabliſhing an Uniformity of Weights, and Meaſures throughout the Kingdom.

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SECTION IX.

A Polity for a perfect Incorporation with Ireland.

CHAP. III.

On Coin, and Credit as the Mediums of Commerce.

SECTION I.

On the Nature, and Circulation of human Induſtry.

SECTION II.

On the Riſe, and Origin, the Uſe, and Neceſſity of ſome Medium, Depoſit, or Certificate, whereby the Exchange of the Produce of one Man's Labour may be facilitated for that of another. — And that this Medium, Depoſit, or Certificate, is what we call Money.

SECTION III.

On the true Meaning of the relative Terms, Market Price, *and* Value *of Commodities,* Cheapneſs, Dearneſs, Scarcity, Plenty, *&c. &c.*

SECTION IV.

The Reaſons aſſigned why Gold and Silver are found preferable to other Metals for the Purpoſes of making them into Money; *and how far a* Paper Certificate *may as truly become* Money, *as Pieces of the Metals of Gold, and Silver.*

SECTION V.

What is intrinſic *in theſe Metals, and what is more properly* relative: — viz. *The Intrinſics in Gold, and Silver are Size, Weight, and Fineneſs: The Relatives are the ſeveral Proportions of the Weight, and Fineneſs of the Coins of one Country compared with thoſe of another: And from theſe Compariſons reſults that imaginary Coin, or Medium between the two, called the* Par of Exchange. — *After this Compariſon with foreign Coins, whether Gold or Silver, there is a ſecondary or domeſtic Compariſon, which hath an univerſal Influence, tho' little attended to,* viz. *The domeſtic Proportion between Gold, and Silver, whether ſet higher or lower, than it is in other Countries.*

SECTION VI.

On the Doctrine of Exchanges, and the Nature of Banking, illuſtrated by familiar Ideas taken from Common Life, and then applied.

SECTION VII.

Reaſons for increaſing the Quantity of Metal Money, and the Polities for ſo doing.

SECTION VIII.

Reaſons for changing a conſiderable Part of the dead *national Debt into* circulating *Certificates or Paper Money; and a Scheme propoſed, whereby every Man in the Kingdom may receive Intereſt every Moment for his Money, and become his own Banker; ſo that the national Debt ſhall become the moſt advantageous Inſtitution to Commerce, Manufactures, Agriculture, and general Induſtry, that ever exiſted.*

PART III.

A Syſtem of Polities for the Preſervation, and Improvement of Good Morals.

DISSERTATION I.

ON the Connection, and intire Harmony between National Commerce, Good Morals, and Good Government: That they all promote each other; nay, that they are but Parts of one general Scheme, in the Deſigns of Providence, though conſidered by us as ſeparate, and diſtinct, and ſometimes as unconnected.

DISSERTATION II.

That as Commerce muſt be under the Guidance of Good Morals, the Rules of Good Morals are therefore to be applied to regulate theſe artificial Wants of Mankind, which are the Baſis of Commerce: And theſe Reaſonings illuſtrated by plain Facts, and Examples. Polities propoſed.

SECTION I.

Proved, that all the former Polities relating to the Increaſe of Mankind, Part I, *are uſeful to Good Morals.*

SECTION II.

Proved, that all the former Polities relating to national Induſtry, and the right Imployment of Time, Part II, *are productive of the ſame good Effect.*

SECTION III.

A Polity for ſuperintending all public Places of Expence, Pleaſure, and Diverſion.

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SECTION IV.

A Polity for ſecuring thoſe Trades to the Female Sex, which are fitteſt for their Condition.

SECTION V.

A Polity for preventing the preſent bad Effects of Electioneering.

SECTION VI.

A Polity for preventing national Perjury.

SECTION VII.

A Polity for clearing the Streets of Street-walkers, for the well-regulating of Jails, and Bridewells, and for making Executions leſs frequent, but more decent, and ſolemn.

SECTION VIII.

An annual Survey, and Regiſter of the Inhabitants.

PART IV.

A Syſtem of Taxes preventive of Idleneſs, Extravagance, &c.---promotive of good Morals,---and productive of national Induſtry, Wealth, and Plenty.

SECTION I.

A Diſſertation on the Nature, Reaſon, and Uſe of Taxes.

SECTION II.

Rules for judging whether any Tax propoſed is bad, innocent, or good. Theſe Principles applied to our preſent Syſtem, viz.

SECTION III.

Such Taxes as ought to be continued in Statu quo.

SECTION IV.

Such as ought to be augmented.

SECTION V.

Such new Taxes as ought to be laid on.

SECTION VI.

Such as ought to be leſſened.

SECTION VII.

Such as ought to be totally aboliſhed.

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SECTION VIII.

Such Bounties, Drawbacks, or Premiums, as ought to be added,—increaſed,—leſſened,—or withdrawn.

SECTION IX.

Regulations for the moſt frugal Methods of collecting the Revenue, and the moſt ſerviceable to Trade and Induſtry.

PART V.

Miſcellaneous Reflections, and Obſervations.

SECTION I.

SUCH vulgar Errors expoſed relating to Trade, as were not particularly confuted in the foregoing Treatiſe.

SECTION II.

Rules for judging of the Increaſe, or Decreaſe of Trade in general, and any Branch of it in particular.

SECTION III.

Rules for ſetting up any new Branch of Trade, Merchandize, or Manufacture.

SECTION IV.

General Directions for Travellers, whether through our own, or in foreign Countries; viz. *What Queſtions to aſk relating to Civil, Religious, or Commercial Liberty*; *the Tenure of Lands, different Holdings, and Juriſdictions, Nature of Government, Courts of Juſtice, Tendency of Taxes, and the like: And what Inferences to make from the reſpective Anſwers:—How to judge of the Genius of a People from their political Conſtitution, and* vice verſa: *How to account for the Decay, or Improvement of Trade, Manufactures, Agriculture, Huſbandry,* &c. *and of the Increaſe or Diminution of the Numbers of People: Alſo a true Method of finding out the comparative Riches or Poverty of the State, or Country through which you travel.*

SECTION V.

The whole Science, and Syſtem of Commerce reduced into a Series of ſhort Maxims, or Aphoriſms. The Concluſion.

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POSTSCRIPT.

IT is humbly requeſted of thoſe Gentlemen, and honourable Perſons, into whoſe Hands theſe Sheets ſhall be committed, that they would pleaſe to return them in two, or three Month's Time, (with their Corrections, and Amendments in the Margin) ſealed up, and delivered either to

The Reverend Dr BIRCH, Secretary to the Royal Society, in *Norfolk-ſtreet*, in the *Strand*;

Mr SHIPLEY, Secretary to the new Society for Arts and Sciences, in *Craigs-Court*, *Weſtminſter*;

The Reverend Dr HALES, at *Teddington*, in *Middleſex*; or to

Their moſt Obliged,

and moſt Obedient,

Humble Servant,

Joſiah Tucker,
Rector of St *Stephen*'s in *Briſtol*.

Briſtol,
July 10, 1755.